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TO
JAMES ALAN MONTGOMERY

GENTLEMAN AND SCHOLAR

TEACHER AND FRIEND

*Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem
in a Difficult Year, 1914-1915*

*President of the American Schools of Oriental Research for
Twelve Years, 1921-1933*

THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED IN HONOR OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY.

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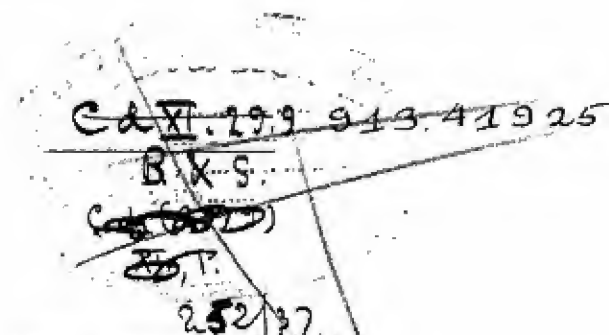
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MILLAR BURROWS AND E. A. SPEISER

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ONE HUNDRED NEW SELECTED NUZI TEXTS

TRANSLITERATED BY
ROBERT H. PFEIFFER

WITH TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARY BY
E. A. SPEISER

3813

CONTENTS

Preface,	5
Table of Correspondences,	7
Register,	8
Part I,	9
Part II,	57
Index of Proper Names,	145

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PREFACE

The excavations at Nuzi, which were begun by the late Dr. Edward Chiera in 1925, were first sponsored jointly by the Iraq Museum and the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad. The texts recovered under the auspices of these two institutions are available virtually in full in Chiera's *Joint Expedition at Nuzi, Vols. I-V*. Beginning with the year 1927 Harvard University replaced the Iraq Museum as joint sponsor of the Nuzi excavations. All the tablets subsequently discovered are now in the Harvard Semitic Museum, where they have been catalogued and given consecutive SMN numbers. The Harvard Semitic Series has presented thus far three volumes of this material prepared by Chiera, Pfeiffer, and Meek respectively. They offer barely one sixth of the total.

The importance of the Nuzi documents need no longer be stressed to any Assyriologist. The responsibility for the publication of the remainder of the material is correspondingly great. But few scientific institutions could undertake in these days the financial burden of publishing some twenty volumes of cuneiform texts. The result is a compromise of the type exemplified in the present volume.

Instead of continuing with expensive autographed copies, the Harvard Semitic Museum and the Baghdad School are commencing herewith the publication of the Nuzi texts in transliteration, with appended translations and commentaries. The task has been divided between the Curator of the Museum and the Director of the Baghdad School. Fortunately, the Nuzi script is sufficiently familiar from previous publications to render transliteration entirely adequate for the purpose. Rare sign-forms and uncertain passages have been copied and reproduced mechanically wherever transliteration alone would have been misleading to the reader; these copies have been indicated in the text by means of an asterisk (*) and have been placed at the end of Part I. The present instalment is based on a selection from among two hundred texts, which were transliterated by Pfeiffer and forwarded to Speiser for further study. The selection followed the principle of dispensing with such documents as fail to contribute any factual or linguistic information; furthermore, the large group of SAL.LUGAL texts has been reserved for future publication in order to allow sufficient variety in the volume at hand. It is hoped that other selections from SMN texts will follow in the near future.

There is no need to point out that our co-operation has been mutually beneficial. The path of the translator was made smoother thanks to his having

had the use of texts as yet unpublished; and as for the transliterator, in the course of interpretation frequent and careful collation became necessary; but each of us assumes final responsibility for any imperfections in carrying out our respective assignments.

We wish to express our thanks to Dr. E. R. Lacheman for assisting in the collation, and for placing at the disposal of the translator a number of texts which he used in his dissertation. The value of this assistance will be apparent from the references in the Notes.

Dr. P. M. Purves, who is preparing an edition of Nuzi Proper Names jointly with Dr. A. A. MacRae, has earned our gratitude by his compilation of the List of Personal Names included in this volume.

R. H. PREIFFER

E. A. SPEISER

October 15, 1936
Cambridge, Mass.
and
Tepe Gawra, Iraq

TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCES

PRESENT NUMBER	SMN	PRESENT NUMBER	SMN
1	285	51	553
2	76	52	7
3	348	53	411
4	13	54	1009
5	346	55	768
6	309	56	2124
7	356	57	2048
8	2093	58	2085
9	809	59	2099
10	319	60	365
11	220	61	2082
12	391	62	2078
13	559	63	2089
14	1048	64	910
15	2101	65	1046
16	2021	66	2098
17	2036	67	2097
18	2044	68	415
19	2254	69	479
20	2035	70	940
21	2206	71	1153
22	2216	72	2131
23	2016	73	2027
24	2038	74	1110
25	2017	75	251
26	2020	76	2093
27	2031	77	538
28	2045	78	53
29	2118	79	2141
30	2119	80	59
31	2103	81	67
32	2026	82	41
33	2019	83	2058
34	2028	84	2056
35	2018	85	549
36	2063	86	601
37	2111	87	25
38	2033	88	1031
39	2074	89	75
40	2145	90	48
41	2023	91	446
42	2037	92	279
43	2024	93	162
44	2043	94	145
45	2692	95	2140
46	588	96	2135
47	491	97	2094
48	690	98	2050
49	799	99	2029
50	2153-54	100	2032

REGISTER ¹

SMN	Room	Size	PRESENT NUMBER	SMN	Room	Size	PRESENT NUMBER
7	T 21	66 x 105 x 34	52	2020	C 120	73 x 116 x 34	26
13	C 2	69 x 98 x 25	4	2021	C 120	68 x 96 x 28	16
25		48 x 46 x 21	87	2023	C 120	69 x 103 x 29	41
41	A 23	44 x 35 x 18	82	2024	C 120	74 x 101 x 29	43
48		36 x 35 x 14	90	2026	C 120	75 x 107 x 32	32
53	C 89	51 x 60 x 23	78	2027	C 120	79 x 126 x 31	73
59	C 76	44 x 42+ x 18	80	2028	C 120	77 x 132 x 37	34
67	C 76	41 x 41 x 18	81	2029	C 120	65 x 88 x 27	99
75		45 x 41+ x 19	89	2031	C 120	71 x 105 x 35	27
76	C 2	62 x 63+ x 25	2	2032	C 120	74 x 108 x 28	100
145	A 34	58 x 77+ x 29	94	2033	C 120	61 x 95 x 28	38
162		59 x 69 x 22	93	2035	C 120	71 x 102 x 36	20
220	C 2	69+ x 92+ x 31	11	2036	C 120	68 x 82 x 23	17
251		63 x 92 x 31	75	2037	C 120	68 x 106 x 34	42
279	A 23	41 x 37 x 19	92	2038	C 120	79 x 105 x 34	24
285	C 2	110 x 194 x 37	1	2043	C 120	74+ x 102 x 31	44
309	C 2	94 x 155 x 36	6	2044	C 120	71+ x 96 x 32	18
319	C 2	99 x 137 x 42	10	2045	C 120	86 x 122 x 36	28
346	C 2	101 x 140 x 43	5	2048	C 120	66 x 95 x 38	57
348	C 2	103 x 151 x 43	3	2050	C 112	47 x 85 x 17	98
356	C 2	70 x 131 x 35	7	2056	C 120	49+ x 44+ x 19	84
365		69 x 102 x 35	60	2058	C 120	42 x 33+ x 17+	83
391	C 2	70 x 83+ x 28	12	2063	C 120	74 x 71 x 36	36
411		51 x 67 x 28	53	2074	C 120	84 x 134 x 36+	39
415	A 23	50 x 65 x 21	68	2075	C 112	65 x 104 x 29	62
446	A 14	53+ x 61+ x 26	91	2082	C 112	76 x 111 x 32	61
479	T 19	57+ x 72+ x 27	69	2085	C 110	74 x 125 x 34	58
491	C 76	74+ x 100+ x 33	47	2089	C 151	70+ x 95+ x 39+	63
501	A 23	61+ x 53 x 22	86	2093	C 113	57 x 47 x 20	76
538		50 x 48 x 21	77	2094	C 120	58+ x 66+ x 24+	97
549		45+ x 46 x 21	65	2097	C 112	70+ x 111+ x 32	67
553	A 23	45 x 42 x 18	51	2098	C 112	75+ x 103 x 37	66
559	C 2	55+ x 66+ x 25	13	2099	C 133	76 x 112 x 38	59
588	C 76	54 x 45+ x 21	46	2101	C 120	67 x 90 x 31+	15
690	C 76	90 x 70 x 26	48	2103	C 120	76 x 100 x 34+	31
768	T 19	78 x 133 x 36	55	2111	C 120	90 x 96+ x 35	37
799	C 76	59+ x 58+ x 21	49	2118	C 120	68+ x 106+ x 30	29
809		44 x 48 x 19	9	2119	C 120	74 x 129 x 36	30
910	A 30	84 x 65 x 31	64	2131	C 382	73 x 104 x 32	72
940	A 14	134 x 85 x 38	70	2134	C 151	78 x 117 x 32	56
1009	A 35	114 x 69 x 33	54	2135	C 470	60 x 91 x 27	96
1031	C 56	52 x 54 x 21	88	2140	C 465	59+ x 60 x 32+	95
1046	A 35	66 x 107 x 28	65	2141	C 132	65 x 86+ x 22+	79
1048	C 2	fragm.	14	2145	C 120	82 x 115+ x 33	40
1110	A 41	61 x 77 x 21	74	2153-54		fragm.	50
1153		73 x 103 x 33	71	2206	C 120	91+ x 127+ x 40	21
2016	C 120	71 x 111 x 36	23	2216	C 120	89 x 114+ x 37	22
2017	C 120	85 x 130 x 36	25	2254	C 120	67 x 100 x 30	19
2018	C 120	70 x 112 x 35	35	2682	C 120	fragm.	45
2019	C 120	77 x 110 x 36	33	2693		29 x 51 x 28	8

¹ The tablets with SMN numbers below 2000 were unearthed in 1927-28; those with numbers above 2000 in 1928-29. "T" indicates the house of Tehiptilla, "A" the double house of Zigi and Shilwateshup, and "C" the great government building and official residence of the governor of Nuzi.

PART I

TRANSLITERATIONS

BY

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

Introduction,	11
A. The People of Nuzi vs. Mayor Kushshiharbe (Nos. 1-14),	13
B. The Archives of Tulpunnaya (Nos. 15-45),	20
C. Oil Rations for the Gods (Nos. 46-50),	35
D. Miscellaneous Texts (Nos. 51-100),	37
Plate of Autographed Signs and Passages,	55

INTRODUCTION

The transliteration of the cuneiform texts from Nuzi ("Kirkuk") presents problems of its own. The outlandish spelling of Akkadian words indicates that the pronunciation of Akkadian current among the Hurrians of Nuzi was decidedly different from that of the native Assyrians and Babylonians of the time. But the variety of spellings adopted for identical words is such that we cannot yet determine the Hurrian pronunciation with any certainty. Under these circumstances, in transliterating a text from Nuzi we are faced by a dilemma: should we reproduce the most frequent value of a sign, or should we, by means of the accents and numerals proposed by Thureau-Dangin (*Le Syllabaire Accadien*, 1926; *Les Homophones Sumériens*, 1929), reproduce the words according to their standard Assyrian pronunciation? The first method has the merit of giving us perhaps a better idea of the "Hurrian accent," the second yields a text that is etymologically more correct. The second method has been adopted in this book, although a few inconsistencies, not all of them due to oversight, may be detected. Another debatable point is the transcription of ideograms: when it seemed certain that the Hurrians read these words in their Akkadian form, the latter has been given regularly. But in the case of such words as SU (shekel), NI (oil), UDU (sheep), MA.NA (mina), etc., in which the exact Akkadian equivalent is not absolutely certain, the Sumerian forms, written in Roman type with the initial capital, have been adopted. Likewise the determinatives (with the exception of such conventional and accepted symbols as ^m and ^l) have been given in their Sumerian form, indicated (except in the case of ^{bi.a} and ^{mes}) by the initial capital (the abbreviation ^a, following the current usage, stands for *Dingir*, god, or *deus*). To avoid confusion, only Sumerian words have been capitalized: capitals have not been used for proper names. In spite of all efforts to attain consistency in the various parts of the book, some minor differences in transcription, such as the writing *silli* at the beginning of some personal names (in the first part) and *MI.NI* (in the index of personal names), differences in the form of the determinatives, and the like, have been allowed to stand: they bear witness to the personal preferences of the authors and to the uncertainty that still prevails, in matters of detail, in the method of transliterating the Hurrianized Akkadian dialect of Nuzi.

1 (SMN 285)

¹um-ma ^mdu-ra-ri-ma 30 iše^{mes} [am-ba-an-na] ²i-na abulli šá-ak-nu-mi ù ^mku-u[š-ši-ḫar-be il-te-gi-šu-nu-ti]

³um-ma ^mku-uš-ši-ḫar-be la il-te-gi-šu-nu-ti] ⁴um-ma ^mdu-ra-ri-ma 30 awēlāti^{mes} a-lik [il-ki] ⁵ša dimāti^{mes} šeāti^{mes} ištu ēkallim^{lim} . . . ⁶ù a-na ^mku-uš-ši-ḫar-be šamaššamma [ù du-u]ḫ-na e-[ri-iš] ⁷ù iše^{mes} am-ba-an-na ú-pá-aḫ-ḫa-ru

⁸um-ma ^mku-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma ^mzi-li-ip-ti-l-la aš-ta-[par-šu] ⁹um-ma a-na-ku-ma šamaššamma^{mes} ù du-uḫ-na e-ri-i[š] ¹⁰1 imēr šamaššamma^{mes} ù dú-uḫ-nu i-ba-aš-ši ša ir-šu. . . ¹¹ù iše^{mes} am-ba-an-na pu-uḫ-ḫi-ir-mi ¹²ù 30 awēlāti^{mes} a-lik il-ki ša dimāti^{mes} la i-de-šu-nu-[ti]

¹³um-ma ^mpal-te-ia-ma 40 iše^{mes} ša-aš-šu-gu [ša ēkalli] ¹⁴^mḫu-ti-ia ^Lnaggāru il-te-gi-šu-nu-ti ¹⁵ù ^Gidalti a-na ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be (sic) [itepuš]^u ¹⁶ù ^Gidalti a-na bit ^mku-uš-ši-ḫar-be i-na ^Uru-an-zu-gal-li [i-te-pu-uš] (?) ¹⁷[ù a-na-ku] iše^{mes} ša-šu-nu az-bi-il-šu-nu

¹⁸um-m[a ^mku]-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma iše^{mes} [a]t(?) -tu-ú-ia-ma ¹⁹ù a-na ^Gidalti a-na e-pi-ši at-ta-din ²⁰ù iše^{mes} ša ēkalli a-na ^Gidalti a-na e-pi-ši la ad-di-in

²¹um-ma ^mḫu-ti-ia ^Lnaggāru-ma ^Gidalti e-pu-šu ²²iše^{mes} iš-tu ^Uru-an-zu-ga-al-li ^mša-aḫ-lu-te-šup ²³a-na ia-ši id-di-na ú iše^{mes} ri-iḫ-tù ²⁴iš-tu ^Uru-nu-zi id-di-na ù iše^{mes} ša-a-šu-nu ²⁵a-na ēkalli^{ti} i-de-šu-nu-[ti] ù a-na ^Gidalti ²⁶ša ^mku-uš-ši-ḫar-be e-te-pu-uš

²⁷um-ma ^mḫa-ši-pá-pu-ma 2 ši-mi-it-tù sa-ti-in-[ni] ²⁸ù 2 ku-uš-ba-aḫ-ḫu ^mša-aḫ-lu-te-šup i-na gāti-ia [it-ta]-din ²⁹um-ma šu-ma um-ma ^m[ku]-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma-mi Ni^{mes} a-[šar awēlāti]^{mes} ³⁰ša gāti-ka šu-ud-din-m[i] ù sa-ti-in-ni e-p[u-uš] . . ³¹ù a-na-ku Ni^{mes} a-šar a[wēlāti]^{mes} ša gāti-ia ^a uš-te-id-[din] ³²ù e-te-pu-uš-zu-n[u]-ti (erasure)

³³um-ma ^mša-aḫ-lu-te-šup-ma 2 ši-mi-it-tù sa-[ti-in-ni] ³⁴ša ^mku-uš-ši-ḫar-be a-na ma-ḫa-ši a-na ^mḫa-ši-p[á-pu id-din] ³⁵ù um-ma a-na-ku-ma i-na ra-ma-ni-ka₄-ma ma-ḫa-aš-mi t[a]-a[q]-bi ³⁶Ni^{mes} a-šar awēlāti^{mes} ša q[āt]i-ka šu-ud-din-mi ù e-pu-uš-mi

³⁷um-ma ^mku-uš-ši-ḫar-be a-na ^mša-aḫ-lu-te-šup la aq-bi ³⁸Ni^{mes} a-na sa-ti-in-ni-e ù ku-uš-[ba]-aḫ-ḫi-e ³⁹a-šar āli šu-ud-d[in]-mi

⁴⁰um-ma ^mḫa-ši-pá-pu-ma bīt[āti^{mes}] [i]k-ta-an-ku ⁴¹ù ^mku-uš-ši-ḫar-be ^Na₄kunukki[šu-nu iḫ-te-pi] ⁴²ù bītāti^{mes} im-ta-šar

⁴³um-ma ^mku-uš-ši-ḫar-be-ma ^Na₄kunuk [ša bītāti^{mes}] ⁴⁴^mḫa-ši-pá-pu-[ma i]ḫ-pi ù bīt-z[u im-ta-šar]

⁴⁵um-ma ^mḫa-ši-[pá-pu-m]a ^mte-ḫu-u[p-še-en-ni] ⁴⁶ù ^mú-nap-t[a-e] gišim-

* The tablet reads e instead of ia.

maru^{ma}-ru ⁴⁷il-tar-qú ù [ina pa]-ni daḏni^{me}(š) ⁴⁸ù [mku]-uš-ši-h[ar-be] . . . (Rev.) ⁴⁹zi-li-ip-til-la . . . * zu ma ^b ⁵⁰pí-i-šu ša mdu-ra-[ri] -ru ù ṭa-az-z[u] . . ⁵¹ù awēlāti^{me} za-ru-ti ša . . ⁵²mku-uš-ši-har-be il-[te-gi] ⁵³um-ma mku-uš-ši-har-be-[ma mte]-ḥu-up-še-en-ni [ù m]ú-nap-ta-e ⁵⁴ṭa-az-zu-nu la aḫ-šu-nu-ti

(Edge) ⁵⁵aban mbar-ta-su-[a] ⁵⁶aban mbi-ri-a-aš-šu-ra (Rest uninscribed)

2 (SMN 76)

¹[um-ma mni-nu-a-ri-ma] ²[Šu ḥurāša a-na mta-i-še-en-ni] ³[at-t]a-din ù i-na ⁴[ma]-ag-ra-at-ti uš-te-ši-wa-an-ni ⁵[um]-ma <šu-ma> mku-uš-ši-har-be-ma ⁶Šu ḥurāša il-gi um-ma mni-nu-a-ri-ma a-n[a] ⁷mta-i-še-en-ni ad-din-mi ⁸um-ma mta-i-še-en-ni-ma ⁹Šu ḥurāša a-na mku-uš-ši-[har-be] ¹⁰ad-din 1 alpa ù 2 Udu^{me} ¹¹a-na ebūrī-ia iz-zi-i[z ù] ¹²te-li-ig-gi-e ù li-gi

(Rev.) ¹³[ab]an mḥa-iš-te-šup

3 (SMN 348)

¹um-ma mzi-[li-ip-til-la T]um. Lal ša mar-ta-ti ²ù 1 Udu a-na [mḥu-uš-š]i-har-be at-ta-din ³ù um-ma šu-[ma . . . š]a-du-um-ma ⁴e-ip-pu-uš (. . .) an-nu-ti il-te-gi ⁵ù ia-ši-ma ša-d[u]-um-ma la i-pu-ša-an-ni

⁶um-ma mki-in-tar-ma ša ⁷uan-ni-šu ⁸il-te-nu-tu, ⁹Gūšumbu^a 5 Su kaspā sar-pu ¹⁰1 ni-en-zi-tu, ša 3 Ma. Na 30 Su sipparra ¹¹1 Tūg 2 Udu^{me} pa-git-tum ù (?) an-nu-tum ¹²mzi-li-ip-til-la il-te-gi ¹³ù mzi-li-ip-til-la šeātī^{me} ša-bu-ri ù ¹⁴a-šar mki-ri-ru-ka-[aš]-zi i-te-ri-iš ¹⁵1 Udu il-te-gi ù . . imēr šeātī^{me} ša-bu-ri ¹⁶ina dimiti tam-qa[r-ri-wa] i-na bitī-šú it-ta-pa-ak (. . .) ¹⁷[um-ma] mḥa-ni-ú-[ma mār z]i-li-ip-til-la ¹⁸ . . . ta-an-n[i] . . . i-te-is-ra-an-ni ¹⁹um-ma šu-ma 1 Udu ša [mu]-ul-li-e bi-la-am-mi ²⁰1 šahā il-te-gi-ma ù aḥu-ia un-te-eš-ši-ir

²¹um-ma mni-nu-a-ri-ma mḥu-uš-ši-har-be ²²iš-tu, ma-aš-ka-ni-ia uš-te-ri-gā-an-[ni] ²³2 Šu ḥurāša 1 alpa ù 2 Udu Nita^{me} ²⁴a-na mḥu-uš-ši-har-be at-ta-din-ma ù u[t-t]e-ir-ra-an-ni

²⁵um-ma mte-ḥi-ia-ma šeātī^{me} ka-ru-ú ²⁶ša ma-la imēr 5 awiḥāru egli ù In. Nun^{me} ²⁷mḥu-uš-ši-har-be e-mu-gā il-te-gi-ma ²⁸ù a-na mḥa-ma-an-na ²⁹Lānag-gāru it-ta-din

³⁰um-ma mmār-dištar-ma zi-ib-lu^{me} ³¹ša 1 imēr 5 awiḥāri egli ³²LāNu. Giš. Šar ³³ša mḥu-uš-ši-har-be il-te-gi-ma ³⁴ù um-ma a-na-ku-ma am-mi-ni ³⁵zi-ib-li te-li-ig-gi-mi (Rev.) ³⁶ù um-ma šu-ma at-ta a-na ra-pa-si ³⁷iq-bu-ka-mi ù dimit-ka a-na na-pa-li ³⁸iq-bu-k[a] (?) ù a-na-ku ap-ta-la-aḫ-ma ³⁹ù ir-te-ig

⁴⁰um-ma mwi-ra-at-t[e]-ia-ma ⁴¹mšūk-ri-te-šup a-na r[i]-a-[an]-ti ⁴²iš-ta-

^b Error for ki-ma?

^a GIS.MAR.GID.DA

ak-nu i-na abullim^{11m} i-te-is-[ra-an-ni] (?) ³⁹1 Udu Nita il-te-gi-ma ù un-te-eš-
ši-ra-an-ni ⁴⁰m̄ha-ši-pa-pu i-na nu-pa-ri ⁴¹it-ta-dá-an-ni 1 Udu Nita il-te-gi-ma
⁴²ù un-te-eš-ši-ra-an-ni ⁴³m̄ki-bi-ia mār a-be-ia ⁴⁴re-ū-ia ⁴⁵ir-ta-pi-is 2 Udu^{mes}
ù 1 labū (Māš) il-te-gi ⁴⁶mar-ta-še-en-ni a-n[a] ⁴⁷iš-ta-ka-an ù
Ma.Na ... ⁴⁸1 xi-a-na-tum ⁴⁹eršū ⁵⁰1 ⁵¹ù-mi ⁵²ù ik-.....

⁵³um-ma ... ru-uš-du-ú ⁵⁴ù 1 Tág [m̄hu-uš-ši]-har-be ⁵⁵e-mu-
gam-[ma il-te-gi]-ma ik-ta-la

⁵⁶um-ma m̄dub-b[i-ia] (?) [m̄...-ši] (?) -ip-a-pu ⁵⁷ir-ta-ap-sà-[an-ni ù]
1 Udu il-te-gi

⁵⁸um-ma m̄pa-a-a [aš-ša] (?) -ti m̄peš-ki-ili-šu ⁵⁹i-na .. ka uš a-na-
ku a-na ⁶⁰mu-uš-šu-hu ... [at]-ta-la-ak ⁶¹iš-ša-ab-ta-an-ni-ma ù 40 i-na ⁶²Giš-hu-
tá-ar-[ri] ir-ta-ap-sa-an-ni ⁶³2 Udu^{mes} ù 1 [Ma.Na] anāku^{mes} at-ta-din ⁶⁴ù
aššati^{ti} [un-te]-eš-ši-ir ⁶⁵m̄ha-ši-pa-pu [i-na mu]-pa-ni-ri ⁶⁶i-na [e]-ru-uš
(Edge) ⁶⁷imēr šea 5 (sātu) kibāti^{mes} ù 1 Udu Nita e-mu-qa il-te-gi ⁶⁸kunuk
m̄ha-iš-te-šup ⁶⁹kunuk m̄pa-a-a

4 (SMN 13)

¹um-ma m̄zi-li-ip-til-la-ma ²i-bi-za-tum i-na ša-at-[t]a-aq-dá ³hu-me-ri-el-li
ur-te-im-mi-šu-ma ⁴a-na-ku ù ⁵ši-mi-til-la ⁶i-na mu-ši ni-it-ta-la-ak-ma ⁷ni-
ta-si-šu-ma a-šar ⁸m̄hu-uš-ši-har-be-ma ni-it-ta-bal-šu-ma ⁹ù it-ti-ik-šu ¹⁰um-ma
m̄hu-uš-ši-har-be la ¹¹ù-la-mi la a-wa-du-mi la a-ni-ik-šu-mi

¹²um-ma m̄pal-te-ia-ma ¹³hu-me-ri-el-li al-ta-si-iš ¹⁴i-na bit hu-ri-za-ti ša
ti-lu-un-na-a-a ¹⁵uš-te-ri-ib-šu ¹⁶ù m̄hu-uš-ši-har-be it-ti-ik-šu ¹⁷um-ma m̄hu-uš-
ši-har-be-ma ¹⁸šum-ma (erasure) hu-me-ri-el-li ¹⁹i-na bit hu-ri-za-ti ²⁰ša ti-lu-
un-na-a-a ²¹m̄pal-te-ia ú-bi-il-šu-ma ²²ù a-na-ku a-ni-ik-šu-ma

(Rev.) ²³kunuk mar-ḥa-ma-an-na ²⁴kunuk m̄te-ḥi-ip-šurri ²⁵kunuk m̄bar-ta-aš-
šu-a (Edge) ²⁶qāt m̄Nabū-ilu ²⁷a

5 (SMN 346)

¹um-ma šabē^{mes} ša Uru-nu-xi-ma ²92 Udu^{mes} m̄[ki-bi]-ia il-te-gi-šu-nu-ti ³šum-
ma ina ekallim^{11m} la ú-še-ri-ib-š[u-n] u-ti ù šum-ma an-na-aš-ni ⁴la ut-te-ir-ru-
šu-nu-ti ⁵um-ma m̄ki-bi-ia-ma ⁶90 (2 erased) Udu^{mes} a-na qa-as-za-ur-ni ⁷ša
Giššumbāni^{mes} [ni]-il-te-gi-ma ⁸ù 7 Udu^{mes} i-na libbi^{bi}-šu-nu ⁹[i]-na ¹⁰Giškirī
i-te-ip-šu-šu-nu-ti-ma ¹¹[ù] šabē^{mes} ša Uru-nu-xi-ma i-ta-kál-šu-nu-ti ¹²[ù u] m-
ma šabē^{mes} ša Uru-nu-xi-ma ¹³[šērāni]^{mes} la ni-ku-ul-mi ¹⁴um-ma m̄pa-a-a m̄ú-
ta-a-a ¹⁵ù m̄qa-wi-in-ni-ma ni-nu ¹⁶šērāni^{mes} ni-ku-[ul]-mi

¹⁷um-ma šabē^{mes} ša Uru-nu-xi-ma ¹⁸1 ma-at [50] [Udu] (?) ¹⁹mes *a-na iš-ši-si
²⁰[m̄ki-bi-ia] ú-ša-at-ta-an ²¹ù im-ma-ti]-im-me-e Udu^{mes}-šu ²²[ma-a-du] ù

a-na erimeš²² [ú-ša]-at-ta-an (Rev.)²³ 1 šu-š[i] Udu^{meš} i-n[a]²⁴ a-na iš-[si]-si i-ip-pu-šu²⁵ 90 Udu^{meš} (..) ša-šu²⁶ i-ka-al-la-šu-nu-ti

²⁷um-ma mki-bi-ia-ma šum-ma²⁸ Udu^{meš} iš-si-si [š]a(?) ú-ša-at-ta-nu²⁹ ma-a-du ù a-na [1 ma]-at Udu^{meš} 30 i-ga-aš-ša-du [ù] šum-ma mi-i-zu³¹ a-na 70 a-na šu-[ši] [Udu]^{meš} i-ga-aš-ša-du³² ù i-na libbi^{bi} šu-ši Udu^{meš} 33 ša in-ni-i[b-b]u [ù] . . . a-n[a] iš-si-si a-na-ku a-kál³⁴ ù ri-iš-ti Udu^{meš} 35 mku-uš-ši-har-be i-ik-kál³⁶ ù i-na erimeš³⁷ la ú-ša-at-ta-az-zu-nu-ti

³⁷kunuk mpa-[a]-a³⁸ kunuk mha-iš-te-šup

6 (SMN 309)

¹um-ma mhu-i-te-ma 17 Udu^{bi.a meš} 2 mki-bi-ia a-na 1 u₂-mi-ma il-te-gi-šu-nu-ti³ um-ma šu-ma Udu^{bi.a meš} ša ekallim^{lim} mi⁴ šum-ma a-na ša ekallim^{lim} la iddin^{din} šu-nu-ti⁵ ù šum-ma a-na ia-ši la ú-te-ir-šu-nu-ti

⁶um-ma mki-bi-ia-ma mki-pa-a-a⁷ Lú^gre^u ša mgi-li-ia a-na mu-ru-ti⁸ i-te-l[i ù u]m-ma šu-ma 17 Udu^{bi.a meš} 9 an-nu-[ti ša ek]allim^{lim} mi¹⁰ ù ma-ri-im-ma-at-ga¹¹ [i]t-ti [m. . .] a-pu-ma iš-tap-ra-an-ni¹² ù [Udu^{bi.a meš}] šu-nu nu-uš-gi-ib-bi-it¹³ ù m[. . .] ma-ri]-ma-at-ga ik-ta-na-ak-šu-nu-ti-ma¹⁴ ù i-[na] [ekallim] ul(?)¹⁵ it-ta-din-šu-nu-ti¹⁶ ù i-na [17 Udu^{bi.a meš}] ša-a-šu-nu 4 Udu^{meš} 15 [a]-šar mšúk-r[i-i]a il-te-gi-šu-nu-ti¹⁷ [ù] mki-pa-a-a Lú^gmu-ru 1 na-am-zi(?)¹⁸ ta¹⁹ [a]-šar mšúk-ri-ia il-te-gi ù Udu^{bi.a meš} 18 [un]-te-eš-ši-ru

¹⁹[um]-ma ma-ri-im-ma-at-ga-ma²⁰ [17 Udu]^{bi.a meš} m[ki]-bi-ia ú-bi-il-šu-nu-ti²¹ . . . ú-ta . . . mni-iš-ri-ia²² . . . ta na . . . ti ù i-na qa-ti²³ [mki-bi-i]a-ma . . . [it]-ta-din-šu-nu-ti²⁴ . . . 5 Udu^{meš} a-[šar m]šúk-ri-ia²⁵ [il-te]-gi-šu-nu-ti i-[na 1] 7 Udu^{bi.a meš} 26 . . . [ú]-me-eš-ši-ir-šu-nu-ti

²⁷[um]-ma mšúk-ri-ia-ma 4 Udu^{meš} 28 mki-bi-ia il-te-gi-šu-nu-ti²⁹ ù i-na libbi^{bi} Udu^{meš} ša-a-šu-nu 2 [Udu^{meš}] 30 un-te-eš-ši-ir-šu-nu-ti ù 2 Udu^{meš} 31 ik-ta-la-šu-nu-ti um-ma šu-ma-mi am-mi-ni-im-ma-mi Ga^{meš} ka₂ a-na mē^{meš} še-gi-e-tù-bi-il-šu-nu-ti-mi

³²um-ma mki-bi-ia-ma ma-ri-im-ma-at-[ga] 33 iš-tap-ra-an-ni ù um-ma šu-ma³⁴ am-mi-ni Giššumbāni^{meš} šu³⁵ ša mki-ri-ia i-na egel ugarē^{meš} (Rev.)³⁶ ša ekallim^{lim} la ú-ri-du-mi³⁷ a-li-ik-ma-mi ù 4 Udu^{meš} šu³⁸ ša-ba-at-mi at-ta-la-ak-ma³⁹ ù 4 Udu^{meš} aš-ša-bat-zu-nu-ti ù⁴⁰ a-na ma-ri-im-ma-at-ga ú-bi-il-šu-nu-ti⁴¹ 42 2 Udu^{meš} šu un-te-eš-ši-ir ù 2 Udu^{meš} šu⁴² i-na ma-ag-ra-at-ti ša ekallim^{lim} mhu-ti-ia Lú^gin-g[a] (?)⁴³ ru⁴⁴ it-ta-ba-aš-šu-nu-ti ù awēlūti^{meš} za-bi-il⁴⁵ Giššumbāni^{meš} i-ta-ak-lu-šu-nu-ti

⁴⁶um-ma ma-ri-im-ma-at-ga-ma⁴⁷ a-an-ni-mi aš-pu-[u]r-šu-mi

⁴⁷ù um-ma awēlūti^{meš} za-bi-il Giššumbāni^{meš} šu⁴⁸ la ni-ku-ul-šu-nu-ti-mi

⁴⁹um-ma mip-ša-ša-lu-ma mšúk-ri-ia⁵⁰ awēlu ša-bi-it Udu^{meš} ù 1 Udu-ia il-

te-qì ⁵¹ ^mšú^k-ri-ia ir-te-ku-šu-ma ⁵² ^ù i-na ar^{hi}^{bi} ša-a-šu-ma ^mki-bi-ia ⁵³ uš-te-ši-bu-uš ^ù ša-nu-ú Udu ⁵⁴ ^mki-bi-ia il-te-qì

⁵⁵um-ma ^mki-bi-ia-ma ^ú-la-mi ⁵⁶ I Udu-šu i-na ar^{hi}^{bi} ša-a-šu la el-qì-mi ⁵⁷ i-na du-ub-bu-ú-mi-šu I Udu-šu ⁵⁸ el-te-qì-mi

⁵⁹um-ma ^mzi-ga-an-la-ma ⁶⁰ iš-tu, Kur^{ha}-ni-gal-bat at-ta-al-ku, ⁶¹ ^ù ^mki-bi-ia lu-ba-ri il-te-qì ⁶² ^{im}ēr šeātⁱ^{meš} at-ta-din-ma ^ù Ku-ri ⁶³ un-te-eš-ši-ir

⁶⁴ [um-ma] ^mki-bi-ia-ma I Mās. Tur ⁶⁵ . . . ^mdu-ul-du-ug-qa a-na hubulli ⁶⁶ . . . ^ù zi-qa-an-ta ⁶⁷ . . . [^mdu]-ul-du-ug-qa at-ta-din ⁶⁸ [^{im}ēr še]ātⁱ^{meš} la el-qì

(Edge) ⁶⁹ qāt ^mhu-ti-ia tupšarri ⁷⁰ kunuk ^mha-iš-te-šup

7 (SMN 356)

¹um-ma ^ma-kap-še-en-ni-ma ² L^ámār šī-ip-ru ša ikallim^{im} ³ it-ta-al-ka, ^ù iq-ta-bi ⁴ aš-šum ti-tu-ú-ri ša hi-pu-ú ⁵ ² Udu^{meš} ka-az-za-Ur-nu ⁶ ša L^áha-za-an-ni bi-la-am-mi ⁷ ^ù a-na-ku ⁸ ² Udu Nita^{meš} a-šar ⁹ ^ma-ri-im-ma-at-qa a-na hubulli ⁹ el-te-qì ^ù a-na ^mul-lu-ia šu-a-na-at-^{hi} ¹⁰ at-ta-din ^ù a-na ikallim^{im} it-ta-bal-šu ¹¹ ^ù ia-ši it-ti ^mgi-li-ia-ma ¹² ^mha-ši-ip-a-pu L^áha-za-an-nu ¹³ i-na di^{nti} ka-a-ri iš-tap-ra-an-ni ¹⁴ ^ù ¹² Udu^{bi.a} ^{meš} uš-ši-ib-bi-it-ma ¹⁵ ^ù i-na bi^t^u ^mha-ši-pa-pu ¹⁶ nu-uš-te-ri-ib ^ù aš-ra-nu-um-ma ¹⁷ ik-ta-lu-ú ^ù i-na-an-na ¹⁸ ^ma-ri-im-ma-at-qa i-na ar^{ki}^{bi} ebūri ¹⁹ aš-šum ² Udu^{meš} il-ta-na-as-si ²⁰ a-na ^mhu-uš-ši-har-be e-^hé-en-nu-ma ²¹ ^ù la i-ša-a-la-an-ni

²²um-ma ^ma-kap-še-en-ni-ma ² Udu^{meš} ²³ en-šu-tù ša i-mu-ut-tù ²⁴ ^meh-li-ip-a-pu a-na qāt ahi-ia ²⁵ it-ta-din ^ù um-ma šu-ma ²⁶ ša ^mhu-uš-ši-har-be-mi ^ù [b]u-ul-hi-iz-zu-nu-ti-mi ²⁷ ^ù ki-i id-di-nu-ma ²⁸ ^ù im-tù-tù ^ù a-na-ku ²⁹ ^{im}ēr eqla (sic) a-na di-te-en-nu-t[i] ³⁰ a-na mār ^mar-zi-iz-za ³¹ at-ta-din (Rev.) ³² ² Udu^{meš} el-te-qì-[mi] ³³ ^ù a-na ^meh-li-ip-a-[pu-m]a ³⁴ at-ta-din

³⁵um-ma ^meh-li-ip-a-pu-ma ³⁶ la ad-din a-na-ku ³⁷ ^mha-ši-ip-a-pu-ma i-din-šu-nu-ti ³⁸ ^ù ^mha-ši-ip-a-pu-ma il-qì

³⁹um-ma ^mha-na-tum-ma bi^{ta} ^ú-sa-al-la-al ⁴⁰ ^ù pu-ú-ra i-na mu^hhi^{bi} ⁴¹ i^š^{meš} pa-ri-za-ti ad-di ⁴² ^mzi-li-ip-til-la ^ù I L^áwardu ⁴³ ša ^mhu-uš-ši-har-be it-ta-al-ku ⁴⁴ ^ù pu-ú-ra ka(?) -am-ru ⁴⁵ bi^{ti}^{bi} ka-wa-du-um-ma i-t[e-i]p-šu ⁴⁶ ^ù pu-ú-ra a-na ^mhu-uš-ši-har-be ⁴⁷ il-te-qú-ú

⁴⁸um-ma ^mte-^{hi}-ip-til-l[a-ma] ⁴⁹ ^mha-ši-ip-a-pu [Túg] ^{bi.a} ^{meš} ⁵⁰ a-na awēlūti^{meš} ^ú-pa-ra-[ti] uš-te-id-di-in ⁵¹ ša al-lu-ti Túg^{bi.a} ^{meš} ul-te-ir-ru ⁵² ^ù ud-du-ia lu-ba-ri ⁵³ ik-ta-la

⁵⁴um-ma ^mdub-bi-ia-ma ⁵⁵ I Udu Nita ^mzi-li-ip-til-la ⁵⁶ il-te-qì ^ù i-na bi^{ti}-šú it-tá-bá-ah ⁵⁷ ^ù i-ta-kál

⁵⁸kunuk ^mha-iš-te-šup ⁵⁹kunuk ^mpa-a-a

8 (SMN 2693)

¹um-ma ^{mit}hi-iš-ta-ma ¹aḫu-ia ²ṁpeš-ki-il-li-šu il-te-qi ³ù a-na ḫu-ša-ú-ru-ti i-na ^{Uru}ḫa-ši-ik-ku-wa-ma ⁴uš-te-ri-ib-šu i-na ¹arḫi^{bi} a-ši-ib ⁵i-na ša-ni-i arḫi^{bi} la ú-me-eš-ši-ru-uš ⁶ù i-na ša-aš-ši arḫi^{bi} ²aḫe^{mes}-ia ⁷ši-di-ta il-te-qi-ma ù it-ta-at-la-ku ⁸i-na dīmti šī-la-ḫi-iš ik-ta-al-du-ma ⁹ù ¹awēla ša ^{Uru}ar-ra-ap-ḫi i-ta-ag-ru ¹⁰¹ aḫu-ia il-te-qi-ma ù i-na ^{Uru}ḫa-ši-ik-ku-wa-ma ¹¹ši-di-ta uš-te-ri-bu ù it-ta-zu-ú ¹²¹ aḫu-ia ša ši-di-ta ú-še-ri-bu ¹³¹⁴nakrē^{mes} id-du-u[k]-šu ù awēla ša āl-ilāni ¹⁴a-na ba-al-tū-ti-im-ma it-tab-lu-uš ¹⁵ù a-bu-šu ša awēli ša āl-ilāni it-tal-ka-am-ma ¹⁶ù aḫu-ia ša [ir-te-iḫ] (?) iṣ-ša-bat ù iq-ta-bi ¹⁷māri-ia ta-gu-u[r-mi] ù nakrē^{mes} il-te-qi-mi ¹⁸¹⁹Udu^{mes} ¹Tūg aš-... M[a.N]a erā^{mes} ¹⁹ù ¹ni-en-zi-tum ša [siparri] il-te-qi ²⁰ù aḫu-ia un-te-eš-[ši-ir] ²¹um-ma ṁna-ni-ia-ma ^{mit}hi-ip-a-ri aḫu-ia ²²i-na ^{Uru}du-ur-ta-ni-ia a-ši-ib ²³ù ṁpeš-ki-il-li-šu iṣ-tum il-ki ²⁴un-te-eš-ši-ir-šu ¹amta ¹mašak alpi ša-li-mu ²⁵ù ša ²ši-mi-it-ti iṣ^{mes} ḫa-al-wa-at-ru ²⁶a-na tá-a-ti il-te-qi

²⁷um-ma ¹hi-in-zu-ri-ma aššat^{es} ²zi-li-ia ²⁸¹ Udu a-na tá-a-ti a-na ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu ²⁹at-ta-din ù um-ma a-na-ku-ma aš-šum eglāti^{mes}-ia ³⁰it-ti ṁka-ri-ru di-ni e-pu-uš-mi ³¹di-ni la i-puš^u aš-šum Udu-ia aq-ta-bi ³²ù ir-ta-ap-sa-an-ni-ma ù Udu^{ri} ³³ik-ta-la ù iṣ-ša-ab-ta-an-ni-ma (Rev.) ³⁴ù ⁶Ma.Na erā^{mes} il-te-qi ù um-ma ³⁵šu-ma ki-mu-ú ša-at-ta-aq-di el-qi-mi

³⁶um-ma ṁḫu-ia-ma ¹šu-ú-du ša šar-ti ³⁷ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu e-mu-qam-ma il-qi

³⁸um-ma ṁḫa-ši-ia-ma a-na ik-ka-ru-ti ³⁹a-na ṁḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be it-ta-ad-nu-ni-in-ni ⁴⁰i-na ka-lu-mi-e ir-ri-iš ù i-na mu-ši (1 sign erased) ⁴¹i-na biti^{ti} at-ta-la-ak ù ⁴²na-ap-ta-ar-ni ⁴²warad ša ṁḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be iṣ-ša-ab-ta-an-ni-ma ⁴³ù um-ma šu-ma am-mi-ni i-na biti^{ti}-ka, ⁴⁴ta-al-li-ik-mi ù ¹Tūg^{du} ša ši-ma An. Šab ⁴⁵il-te-qi ù ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu iṣ-ša-ab-ta:-an-ni-ma ⁴⁶ù i-na qāt ^{mi}ni-ia a-na ¹(pi) ²⁰(qa) šeāti^{mes} ⁴⁷it-ta-ad-na-an-ni ù ¹(pi) ²⁰(qa) šeāti^{mes} iṣ-tu, ⁴⁸muḫḫi^{bi}-ia il-te-qi

⁴⁹um-ma ^{mit}ḫa-a-a-ma ¹Udu ù ¹en-zu ⁵⁰e-mu-qa ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu il-qi

⁵¹um-ma ²zi-gi-ma ¹Udu e-mu-qa ⁵²ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu il-qi i-na ša-lu-uš-mu

⁵³um-ma ṁpal-te-ia-ma ¹Udu ^{ri}ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu il-te-qi

⁵⁴um-ma ṁpa-li-ia-ma ¹Ma.Na anāku^{mes} ⁵⁵¹ G^{is}paššūru ša šēp^{mes}-šū ša G^{is}urkarinni ⁵⁶ù ¹G^{is}erša ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu e-mu-qa il-qi

⁵⁷um-ma ṁḫa-na-ak-ka-ma ¹G^{is}qašta e-mu-qa ⁵⁸ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu il-qi ù ⁶(pi) ¹⁰(qa) šeā ⁵⁹a-šar aḫi-ia a-na ...-ma-lu-ti il-qi

⁶⁰um-ma ṁšūk-ri-te-[šup-ma I] Udu ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu ⁶¹a-na ši-mi il-qi [ù] ši-im-šu la i-din ⁶²ù šum-ma Udu la [ut]-te-ir i-na š-lu-mu

⁶³um-ma ṁḫa-tar-te-ma i-na ^{Kur}ḫa-li-gal-bat ⁶⁴at-ta-al-ka, ù aš-šum di-ni-ia i-na ⁶⁵qāt ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu it-ta-ad-nu-ni-in-ni ⁶⁶¹ Udu ¹ni-en-zi-tum ša siparri ù ²dalāti ⁶⁷aḫu-mi-ša a-na tá-a-ti a-na ⁶⁸ṁpeš-ki-ili-šu it-ta-din (Left Edge) ⁶⁹ù di-ni la i-puš ⁷⁰kunuk ṁpa-a-a ⁷¹kunuk ṁḫa-iš-te-šup

9 (SMN 809)

¹um-ma ^mhu-zi-ri-ma ²6 Su kaspā sa-ar-pu ³a-na ^mpeš-ki-ili-šu ⁴at-ta-din
⁵um-ma a-na-ku-ma ⁶a-na ^mku-uš-ši-ḥar-be ⁷i-din-ma ù ⁸di-ni li-pu-uš ⁹1 qa-ši-
 ir-na ¹⁰ša ^{Gis}narkabti ¹¹at-ta-din ¹²di-ni la i-pu-šu ¹³6 Su kaspā ¹³ù 1 qa-ši-
 ir-nu ¹³ša ^{Gis}narkabti ^mpeš-ki-ili-šu ¹⁴ik-ta-la

10 (SMN 319)

¹um-ma ^mu-na-a-a-ma 1 en-zu ^mhu-ti-i[a] ²a-na ia-ši iddina^{na} ù ^mgi-li-ia
³iš-ša-bat ù ti-iq-qa-šu uk-te-en-ni-ku ⁴di-na-ni iš-ša-bat-ma ù ^mpeš-ki-ili-šu
⁵No^{kunukki}-šu iḥ-te-pé-ma ù a-na ^mhu-uš-ši-ḥar-be itepuš^u ⁶ma-a-a mār
 a-ra-a-a a-na 3 bilat er^{meš} ⁷a-na ia-ši id-du-ù ù ^mpeš-ki-ili-šu ⁸e-mu-qa i-na
 ta-lu-uk-li-e il-te-gi

⁹um-ma ^mšu-mu-ut-ra-ma 2 Udu^{meš}-ia ¹⁰mpeš-ki-ili-šu il-te-gi ù ik-ta-la ¹¹Sal
 gal-la-ti il-te-gi ù a-na 11 arḥ^{meš} ¹²i-na bīti-šú i-si-ir-šu

¹³um-ma ^mdu-ra-ri-ma 2 Udu^{meš} ^mpeš-ki-ili-šu ¹⁴il-te-gi ša šāb^{meš} il-ti-in-
 nu-ù ¹⁵un-te-eš-ši-ru ù ud-du-ia ik-ta-lu-ù

¹⁶um-ma ^mip-ša-ḥa-lu-ma ^Lišpāru 1 Udu ^mpeš-ki-ili-šu ¹⁷il-te-gi ù ik-ta-la
 ù ša awēlūti^{meš} e-pé-iš šipāti^{meš} ¹⁸Udu^{bi.a} ^{meš}-šu-nu ú-me-eš-ši-ru

¹⁹um-ma ^mar-ša-wa-ma a-na-ku i-na Uru^{túr}-ša aš-bá-ak ²⁰ù ^mpeš-ki-ili-šu i-na
 bīti-ia i-te-ru-um-ma ²¹Gis^{daltti} it-ta-za-aḥ-ma ù il-te-gi ²²ù bītiⁱ ug-te-el-li-bu

11 (SMN 220)

¹um-ma ^mki-in-na-an-[ni-ma] ²1 na-ri-i šipāti ^m[ar-zi-iz-za] ³a-na iš-qa-ri
 a-šar ⁴il-te-gi ù ik-[ta-la]

⁵um-ma ^mar-zi-iz-za-ma ⁶mki-in-na-an-ni im(?) -ta-zi ⁷ù ša i-ip-pu-šu ia-nu
⁸ù šipāti^{meš} ša-ak-nu

⁹um-ma ^mki-in-na-an-ni-ma ¹⁰il-te-nu-tum up-pa-ša-an-nu ¹¹mār-zi-iz-za
 ik-ta-la

¹²um-ma ^mar-zi-iz-za-ma ¹³e-te-pu-uz-zu-nu ù uš-tu, ¹⁴ēkallim^{lim} za-ḥu-lu-um-
 ma i-te-ip-šu(?) -ma(?) -ni(?) ¹⁵ù i-na ebūriⁱ-ia-ma ša-ak-nu

¹⁶um-ma ^mki-in-na-an-ni-ma ¹⁷ku-uz-pa-aḥ-ḥa^{meš} ù q[a-t]i-š[u]-[nu](?) ¹⁸ša
 awēlūti^{meš} ša ¹⁹ša iš-tu, ²⁰i-te-ip-šu ²¹mār-zi-iz-[za]

²²mme-li-en-za-aḥ ²³a-na mta-ri-bu-ia (Rev.) ²⁴it-ta-na-an-din-šu
 [nu-ti]

²⁵um-ma ^mar-zi-iz-za-ma ²⁶awēlūti^{meš} q[a]-. . . . ²⁷i-ip-pu-šu ù

²⁵um-ma ^mar-zi-iz-za-ma ²⁶awēlūti^{meš} q[a]-. . . . ²⁷i-ip-pu-šu ù ²⁸mme-li-
 en-za-aḥ ²⁹ù a-na mta-ri-bu-ia ³⁰at-ta-na-an-din

³¹kunuk ^mpa-a-a ³²kunuk mta-š[e]-. . . .

12 (SMN 391)

1..... p¹..... 2..... šu 3..... lu il-li-[ik] ... 4..... šu lu mzi...
 5.....
 6um-ma mki-bi-ia-ma 7a-na ša-at-ta-an ša-at-[ta-an] 81 Udu-šu a-na iš-si-si
 9a-ša-ab-bat
 10um-ma mbe-la-a-bi-ma 11mki-bi-ia iš-ša-ab-ta... 12ù i-na bit nu-ba-[ri]
 13ù 1 Udu il-te-gi ... 14ša-nu-ú arḫub^u ... 15ù Udu-ia il-[te-gi] ... 16ù lu-
 ba-ri ...
 17um-ma mki-[bi-ia-ma] 181 Udu a-na ... 19ù ša-nu-ú 20ka-az-zu
 21gāt m^dsin-na-din-š[um]

13 (SMN 559)

1[um-ma ma]-kap-ta-e-ma 2..... a-hu-ia 3.....-ma i-na il-ki 4.....-šⁱ
 5..... 1 Udu a-na 6[mku-uš-ši]-ḫar-be at-ta-din 7[ù a-n]a-ku-ma it-ti 8.....-
 ni-en-mi ta.... 9... ḫurāši 1 Udu il-[gi] 10.. a-na ia-ši it.... 11...-ù-
 zi-mi

(Rev.) (partly lost and partly uninscribed)

14 (SMN 1048)

1[um-ma] m^dadad-šarru-[ma] 2[1 en]-zum a-na m[pé-eš-ki-il-li-šu] 3[a]t-
 ta-din ù um-[ma] ... 4.. ša ...-mi-e ... 5ù iš-tu, a.... 6.....*) 71 en-zum
 .. il-te-[gi] 8ù ia..... 9ù mi-ri-[ri]-til-la un-te-eš-ši-ra-an-ni
 10um-ma mpé-[eš]-ki-il-li-šu 111 en-zum m^dadad-šarru id-di-na 12um-ma
 šu-ma aš-ša(?) -pa-ku-mi 13ù ma-am-ma lu-ú 14la ú... * -an(?) -za-mi 15ù(?)
 aš-š[um] a-lik it-ti ... (2 or 3 lines destroyed)
 16kunuk m^dtar-mi-ia 17kunuk m^dpa-a-a

15 (SMN 2101)

1lišān-šu ša mwa-at-wa 2mār ṭāb-šarri a-na pa-ni 3 L⁶āiānⁱmeš ki-a-am ig-ta-bi
 41tu, ul-pu-un-na-a-a 5aššat^t m^dha-šu-ar a-na ma-ru-ti 6e-te-pu-uz-zu-mi 7ù
 G¹³kirā i-na e-li-en Uru^{te}-im-<te>-na-aš 8i-na li-it G¹³kirī ša mwa-an-ti-iš-še i-na
 mu-ra-a-ki 920 i-na si-id-dī ù i-na ru-up-p[ú] 107 i-na pu-ri-ti a-na 1tu, ul-pu-
 un-na-a-a 11at-ta-din-mi ù 1tu, ul-pu-[un]-na-a-a 12a-na ia-ši 1 G¹³qašta ki-mu
 13gišti-ia it-ta-aš-na 14šum-ma G¹³kirū pa-gi-ra-na iraššⁱ 15ù a-na-ku-ma ú-za-
 ak-kā 16iš-tu u, mi an-ni-im 17m[wa]-at-wa aš-šum G¹³kirī 18i-[na] arki^{ki}
 1tu, ul-pu-un-na-a-a 19la i-ša-as-si
 20gāt m^dnabū-ilu (m^dAk. Dingir-ra) tupšarru (Rev.) 21kunuk m^dtar-mi-ia mār
 ú-nap-ta-e 22kunuk m^dte-eš-šu-ia mār šarri 23kunuk mzi-il-te-šup mār zu-ia

16 (SMN 2021)

¹lišān-šu-nu ša ^mše-en-na-ag-ga ²ša ^mar-ša-an-ta ù ša ^ma-ri-ip-šarri ³mārimeš
e-en-na-ma-ti a-na pa-ni ⁴L⁶daiāni^{meš} ki-a-am iq-ta-bu-ú ⁵ma-la awiḫāru kirā
i-na ^Uru-te-im-te-na-aš ⁶i-na li-it kiri ša ^mte-en-te ⁷a-na qišti-šu a-na ⁸tu₄-ul-pu-
un-na-a-a ⁹aššat^{at} ^mha-šu-ar ni-il-ta-din-m[i] ⁹šum-ma kirā ša ni-il-ti-nu ¹⁰pa-
qi-ra-na i-ra-aš-ši ¹¹ù ni-nu-ma nu-za-ak-kà ¹²iš-tu u₄-mi an-ni-im ¹³3 aḫū^{meš}
mārū e-en-na-ma-[ti] ¹⁴aš-šum 1 awiḫāri kiri an-ni-i[m] ¹⁵i-na arki^{ki} ⁸tu₄-ul-
p[u-un-na-a-a] ¹⁶la i-ša-as-sú-ú . . . ¹⁷gāt ^dnabū-ilu (^dAk. Dingir-ra) tupšarri
(Rev.) ¹⁸kunuk ^mzi-il-te-šup mār [zu-ia] ¹⁹kunuk tar-mi-ia mār ú-^{nap}-[ta-e]
²⁰kunuk ^mte-eš-šu-ia mār šarri

17 (SMN 2036)

¹li-ša-an-šu ša ^mna-i-še-ri ²mār na-al-du-ia a-na pa-ni ³ḫal-zu-uh-li-e ki-na-an-
na ⁴iq-ta-bi 1 imēr eḡla i-na ^Uru-te-im-te-na-aš ⁵i-na li-it eḡli ša ^mir-ru-uš-sa(?)
⁶a-na ⁸tu₄-ul-pu-un-na-a-a ⁷at-ta-din-mi ù a-na ma-ru-ti ⁸e-te-pu-uš-mi ⁹šum-ma
eḡlu pa-qi-r[a-na i]-ra-aš-ši ¹⁰ù a-na-ku-ma ú-za-ak-kà ¹¹i-na u₄-mi an-ni-im
^mna-i-še-ri ¹²aš-šum 1 imēr eḡlāti^{meš} i-na arki ¹³⁸tu₄-ul-pu-un-na-a-a ¹⁴la i-ša-
as-si

¹⁵gāt ^dnabū-ilu (^dAk. Dingir-ra) tupšarri

(Rev.) ¹⁶kunuk ^mtar-mi-te-šup mār eḡ-li-te-šup ¹⁷kunuk ^mte-ḫi-ip-til-la mār
pu-ḫi-še-en-ni ¹⁸kunuk ^mtar-mi-ia mār ú-^{nap}-ta-e

18 (SMN 2044)

¹tup-pi ma-ru-ti ša ²⁸tu₄-ul-pu-na-a-a ³mārat še-el-tu-na-a-a ⁴ù ^mḫu-ur-bi-
še-en-ni mār ḫa-ši-ia ⁵u-na ma-ru-ti i-pu-uš ⁶1 ma-la ^Gawihari ^Gkirā i-na
^Uru-te-im-te-na-aš ⁷i-na [i] i-it ^Gkirā ša ḫa-bur-ši mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni ⁸a-na ⁸tu₄-ul-
pu-na-a-a id-di-in ⁹a-na marūti^{meš} (Tur. Meš) itepu^{meš} (Kak. Meš) šum-ma
^Gkirū pa-qi-ra-na ¹⁰ir-ta-ši ^Gkirā ša-šu-ma ú-za-ak-kà ¹¹ša ibalkatu tu^{tu} 1
Ma. Na kaspā 1 Ma. Na ḫurāṣu ú-ma-al-la ¹²ù ⁸tu₄-ul-pu-na-a-a ki-i qišti ¹³2
Udu 1 Su kaspā ṣa-ar-pu 1 imēr šea ¹⁴a-na ^mḫu-ur-bi-še-en-ni iddinⁱⁿ

¹⁵maḫar šu-um-mi-ia mār na-i-še-ri la-mu ^Gkirā ¹⁶maḫar [t]e-ḫi-ia mār
a-ta-a Ki. Min ¹⁷maḫar ki-ba-ar-ra-ap-ḫi mār wa-an-di-iš-še Ki. Min ¹⁸maḫar
a-kap-še-en-ni mār šu-il-wa-a-a Ki. Min ¹⁹maḫar ḫa-ma-an-na mār ar-še-ḫa-la
²⁰maḫar zi ²li-ip-šar-ri ²¹mār e-ni-iš-la-e ²¹maḫar še-na-aq-qa mār e-na-ma-ti
(Rev.) ²³maḫar ar-te-ia mār e-ni-ia ²⁴maḫar ak-ku-li-en-ni mār ip-šá-ḫa-lu
²⁵maḫar ^dnabū-na-šir tupšarru ²⁶an-nu-tum awēlāti^{meš} li-mu-ú ²⁷^mḫu-ur-bi-

* The tablet has GI for si.

še-en-ni be-el ^{G²}kiri kunuk ²⁸zi^a-li-ip-šar-ri ši-bi kunuk ²⁹kunuk tupšarri
(Edge) ³⁰kunuk mar-te-ia šum-ma ³¹ḫu-ur-bi-še-en-ni ibalkat (Ki. Bal^{at}) ³²1
Ma. Na kaspā 1 Ma. Na ḫurāša ³³ú-ma-al-la

19 (SMN 2254)

¹li-ša-an-šu ša ^m[ir-wi-šarri mār ḫā]b-šarri ²a-na pa-ni ḫal-zu-uh-li-e ³ki-a-am
iq-ta-a-bi ⁴du-ul-pu-un-na-a-a [^mir]-wi-šarri ⁵a-na ma-ru-ti i-pu-uz-zu ⁶ma-la
ku-ma-ni ^{G²}kirā ina [^{Ur²}]e-im-te-na-aš ⁷a-šar ^{G²}kiri ša ^mwa-an-... id-di-in
⁸a-na du-ul-pu-na-a-[a addin] ⁹2 Udu 8 Ma. Na erā^{mes}...-ia-ri ¹⁰a-na ia-ši
i-di-na ... ¹¹šum-ma ^{G²}kirā pa-qi-ra-na [i-ra-aš-ši] ¹²(erasure) i-... [ú-za-
ak-kā] (?) [a-na du-ul-pu-na]-a-a inandinu^{nu} ¹³ú-... ¹⁴is-tu₄ u₄ mi an-
[ni-i] ¹⁵(erased) ¹⁶du-ul-pu-n[a-a-a] ¹⁷la i-za-as-si ¹⁸qāt mit-ḫa-b[i-ḫi]
¹⁹tupšarri

(Rev.) ²⁰kunuk mtar-mi-te-šup ²¹kunuk mte-ḫi-ip-til-la ²²kunuk mtar-mi-ia

20 (SMN 2035)

¹eqlāti^{mes} ša mte-en-te-ia ²^{G²}kirā ša e-li-na ša li-it ^{G²}kiri ša mi-na-a-bi ³ša
li-a-la-am-ba ù ⁴bitāti^{bi} ⁵a ša mše-en-na-a-a ⁶i-na libbi ^{Ur²}zi-iz-za eqlāti^{mes} ⁷an-na-ti
^{G²}kirā an-nu-um ⁸bitāti^{bi} ⁹an-na-ti a-na an-nu-ti ¹⁰li-a-la-am-ba a-na ma-ru-ti
¹¹ip-še-it ù i-na-an-na ¹²li-a-la-am-ba a-na ¹³tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a ittadinⁱⁿ
¹⁴maḫar šu-ur-te-šup mār na-ni-ia ¹⁵maḫar dup-ki-ia mār en-na-mil-ki
¹⁶maḫar še-el-wi-ia mār gi-li-ip-šarri ¹⁷maḫar nu-ša-a-a mār a-da-a-a ¹⁸maḫar
wa-an-ti-ia mār ar-šarri ¹⁹maḫar tu-ul-bi-še-en-ni mār i-na-a-bi ²⁰maḫar a-ḫu-ia
mār dup-ki-ia ²¹maḫar qa-ni mār ta-ḫa-ar ²²maḫar ki-iz-zu mār a-ru-ma-ri
(Rev.) ²³maḫar ú-ut-ti-[z]a mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia ²⁴maḫar tu-ra-ri tupšarri

²⁵kunuk li-a-la-am-ba ²⁶kunuk mšu-ur-te-šup ²⁷kunuk mdup-ki-ia ²⁸kunuk
mtu-ul-bi-še-en-ni (Edge) ²⁹kunuk mtu-ra-ri tupšarri

21 (SMN 2206)

¹tup-p[i m]a-ru-ti ša mḫu-i-ba-pu mār šu-ra-aq-qa ²ù tūl-pu-un-na-a-a
mārat še-el-du-un-na-a-a ³a-na ma-ru-ti i-pu-uš ⁴ma-la ku-ma-ni ù mi-ši-il ḫa-
ra-ar-ni ^{G²}kirā^{mes} i-na ^{Ur²}zi-iz-za i-na e-li-en [^{G²}kiri] ⁵gi-gi-ru-uh-ḫi i-na
il-ta-an ^{G²}kiri ša ^ma-ḫu-ia ⁶mḫu-i-ba-a-pu ki-i-ma zitti-šú ⁷a-na tūl-pu-un-
na-a-a it-ti-na-aš-šu ⁸ù tūl-pu-un-na-a-a 1 Gud Nita ru-bu-ú ⁹ki-i-ma qīšti-šú
a-na mḫu-i-ba-pu i-din ¹⁰[šum-ma] ^{G²}kirā pi-ir-ka₄ i-ra-aš-ši ¹¹ù ^{G²}kirā an-nu-
um-ma mḫu-i-ba-a-pu ¹²[ú]-za-a[k]-ka₄ a-na tūl-pu-un-na-a-a i-na-an-din
¹³[šum-m]a mḫu-i-ba-a-pu ibalkat^{tu} i-na arki^{ki} ¹⁴[^{G²}kiri] i-ša-as-si ù ^{G²}kirā
an-nu-ú ¹⁵[tūl-p]u-un-na-a-a ki-i-me-e ú-ka₄-al-ma ú-ka₄-al ¹⁶ù mḫu-i-ba-a-pu

* The tablet has GI for zi.

^{G13}kirā 5-šu ú-ma-al-la (erasure) ¹¹a-na ¹túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-na ^{Uru}zi-iz-za-ma i-na-an-din ¹⁸am-ma-du ša erī ša a-bu-ul-li ša ál ilāni ¹⁹ū mi-in-ta-az-zu ša am-ma-ti ša erī il-te-gú-ú ²⁰ū ^{G13}kirā [ú]-ma-a[n-d]u-ú (the first halves of lines 19 and 20 are written over an erasure)

²¹maḥar a-ki-in-[na]-ma-ri mār [a]-ri-ia ²³maḥar el-ḫi-ip-til-la mār ma-at-te-šup ²⁵maḥar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia ²⁴maḥar še-en-na-a-a mār a-kap-še ²⁵maḥar ma-at-te-šup mār ḫi-il-bi-iš-šu-uḫ ²⁶maḥar ak-ku-te-ia mār te-eš-šu-ia ²⁷maḥar it-ḫi-til-la mār šúk-ra-a-pu ²⁸maḥar a-ḫu-u[m-m]i-š[a] mār bi-il-la-r[a] (Rev.) ²⁹maḥar ša-ar-[te-ia] mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni ³⁰maḥar ki-be-ir-ru (sic) mār a-ga-a-a (the line is written over an erasure) ³¹maḥar ku-ur-[wi]-ri mār ú-uš-še ³²maḥar ^dsin-i-[qí]-ša tupšarri

³²aban ^ma-kap-še-en-ni ³⁴aban ^ma-ki-i[n-n]a-ma-r[i] ³⁵aban ^mak-ku-[te]-ia ³⁶aban ^mel-ḫi-ip-til-la ³⁷[aban ^mša-ar]-te-ia ³⁸[aban ^mše-e]n-na-a-a ³⁹aban ^mit-ḫi-til-la ⁴⁰aban ^mma-at-te-šup ⁴¹aban ^mki-be-ir-ḫa (sic) ⁴²aban ^mku-ur-wi-ri (Left Edge) ⁴³aban ^md sin-i-qí-[ša] ⁴⁴aban ^ma-ḫu-um-[mi]-ša

22 (SMN 2216)

¹tup-pi ma-ru-ti ša ^ma-.... ²ū ¹túl-pu-un-na-a-a mārāt š[e-el-du-un-na-a-a a-na ma-ru-ti] ipuš^{u3} ³^{G13}kirā 47 ší-id-dá-šu i-na [e-li-en-na-ni-iš-šu] ⁴43 šēpi (Glr) Ki.Min-ma i-na šu-pa-la-ni-iš-[šu] ⁶7 šēpi ū 2 am-ma-ti Gld.Du i-na i[l-ta]-na-ni-iš-šu ⁹9 šēpi ū 2 am-ma-ti Gld.Du. ^{G13}kirā i-na su-ta-na-ni-iš-šu ⁷an-nu-ti mi-in-ta-az-zu ša kirī ⁸i-na su-ta-an ^{G13}kirā ša ^mte-i[š]-....-[š]i(?)⁹-ia ⁹i-na a-tab-bi ša qa-ta-ni-e ¹⁰i-na il-ta-na-ni-iš-[šu-ma] ¹¹mi-in-ta-az-zu ša am-[m]a-ti ša erī ¹²ša i-na abullī ša ^{Uru}...-e-ku-ú ¹³il-te-gú-ú ū ^{G13}kirā [i]m-dū ¹⁴š-du ¹⁴[^ma-....] ki-i-ma zitti-šu a-na ¹⁵[¹túl-pu-un-na-a]-a [i]d-din ū ¹⁶[¹túl-pu-un-na-a-a] 1 Su (the rest of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse are lost)

(Rev.) ¹⁷[maḥar] mār ḫa-ši-ip-.... ¹⁸[maḥar ia-an-zi-ma-aš-ḫu mār] a-it-ta-ra ¹⁹[maḥar] [mār] ir-mu-ša ²⁰[maḥar] ...Tur...-il-ru ²¹[maḥar šúk]-ra-a-p[u] mār ki-ni-a ²²[maḥar a]-kip-du-r[a] mār e-ni-iš-ta-e ²³[maḥar a]-kip-til-la mār ša-ri-iš-še ²⁴[maḥar e]n-šúk-rum mār te-šup-ir-wi ²⁵[maḥar] a-ri-im-ma-at-ga mār zi-li-ia ²⁶[maḥar] ^dsin-i-qí-ša tupšarri an-nu-ti awēlūti^{me3} šibūti^{me3} ša ^{G13}kirā ú-še-el-wu-ú ²⁷ū a-na pa-ni-šu-nu kaspu^{me3} na-ad-nu

²⁸aban ^ma-kap-še-en-ni ²⁹aban ^mik-ki-a ³⁰aban ^mip-pa-a-[a] ³¹[aban ^mt]e-ḫi-ia ³²aban ^ma-kip-du-ra ³³aban ^men-šúk-rum ^{L4}... ³⁴aban ^mna-ra-a-a ³⁵aban ³⁶aban ^mšúk-ri ³⁷aban ^mar-ra-ki (...) (Left Edge) ³⁸[aban ^mšúk]-ra-a-pu ³⁹aban ^m.... ⁴⁰[tup-pu i-na arki šu-du]-te ša-ḫi-ir ⁴¹[aban ^md sin-i-qí-ša t]upšarri

* The tablet has NI for dū.

23 (SMN 2016)

¹tup-pl mārūtūti^a <ša> ¹ši-ta-an-ga mārāt ha-bil-damqu ²ū ra-ma-an-šu ū a-ha-az-zu ³m̄ha-na-tum mār ha-bil-damqu ⁴a-na mārūtūti^b a-na ¹tūl-pu-na-a-a mārāt ir-w[i-sar]ri iddin ⁵ū ¹tūl-pu-na-a-a ¹ši-ta-an-ga ⁶a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-an-din šum-ma ¹tūl-pu-[na-a-a] ⁷na-ḫi-iš a-na wardi^a i-na-an-din ū šum-ma ⁸na-ḫi-iš a-na ¹⁴ta-lu-uh-li i-na-an-din ⁹ū šum-ma ap-pu-na-ma ¹tūl-pu-na-a-a ¹⁰na-ḫi-iš ha-ri-mu-ta ¹ši-ta-an-ga ¹¹li-pu-uš-ma ū a-dū ¹tūl-pu-na-a-a bal-ḫu, lu-ša-ka, al ¹²šum-ma ¹⁰awēlūti^{mes} mu-uz-za-šu im-tū-ut ¹³ū ¹¹awēla a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-an-din ¹⁴šum-ma ¹ši-ta-an-ga ibalkat^c ¹⁵ū ina bit ¹tūl-pu-na-a-a ū-uš-ṣi ¹⁶Ma. Na ḫurāša a-na ¹tūl-pu-na-a-a i-na-an-din ¹⁷ū šum-ma ¹ši-ta-an-ga a-ha-az-zu ^{m̄}ha-na-tum ¹⁸ina bit ¹tūl-pu-na-a-a ū-še-iš-ṣi ū ri-ik-sa Ki. Min (lines 17 and 18 were added after the tablet was finished)

¹⁹maḥar tar-mi-te-šup mār ar-te-ia ²⁰maḥar dup-ki-iz-za mār ar-zi-iz-za ²¹maḥar a-kap-še-ni mār ha-ni-ku-ia ²²maḥar a-kap-še-ni mār ši-il-wa-a ²³maḥar ma-at-te-šup mār na-ni-ia ²⁴maḥar ta-a-ū-ki mār ha-ni-ku-ia ²⁵maḥar ki-pa-ar-ra-āp-ḫi mār wa-an-ti-iš-še ²⁶maḥar ha-ši-pa-pu mār a-ri-ma-at-ga ²⁷maḥar ša-ma-ḫul mār tu-ra-ri ²⁸maḥar ma-li-ia mār na-i-še-ri ²⁹maḥar ū-na-ap-la-e mār wa-an-ti-ia (Rev.) ³⁰maḥar kip-gi-mar mār a-qa-wi-ia ³¹maḥar na-i-gi-mar mār a-ri-ma-at-ga ³²maḥar šer-ši-ia tup-šar-rum

³³kunuk ^{m̄}ma-at-te-šup ³⁴kunuk ^{m̄}ta-a-ū-ki ³⁵kunuk ^{m̄}ki-pa-ra-āp-ḫi ³⁶kunuk ^{m̄}ha-ši-pa-pu ³⁷kunuk ^{m̄}dup-ki-ia (Edze) ³⁸kunuk tup-šar-rum ³⁹kunuk ^{m̄}ma-li-ia

24 (SMN 2038)

¹tup-pl ti-te-nu (sic) ^{m̄}ha-bil-ta-an-ga ²māra-šu ^{m̄}ha-na-tum a-na ¹tu-ul-pu-na-a-a ³mārāt še-el-tu, na-a-a a-na ti-te-nu-ti ⁴iddin ū ¹tu-ul-pu-na-a-a ⁵mārāt še-el-tu, na-a-a ¹warda ⁶a-na ha-bi-il-ta-an-gu ittadin ¹⁰šanāti^{mes} ū-ka, lu (m)-uš^a ⁷un-du warda a-na ^{m̄}! (sic) tu-ul-pu-na-a-a ⁸ut-te-ir-ru ū mār-šu ^{m̄}ha-na-tum i-liq-gi

⁹maḥar i-a-an-zi-ma-aš-ḫu mār a-it-ta-ra ¹⁰maḥar pu-ḫi-še-en-ni mār ha-ma-an-na ¹¹maḥar a-ri-ga-ma-ri mār a-kap-še ¹²maḥar gi-wa-ta-e mār mu-uš-te-šup ¹³maḥar tar-mi-ia mār ha-ni-ku-ia ¹⁴maḥar ḫu-ti-ia mār te-šu^b up-ir-wa ¹⁵maḥar pa-ib-bu mār ha-ši-i-a ¹⁶maḥar še-na-a-a mār te-su-š[a]-a ¹⁷maḥar ha-ši-ip-til-la mār ar-te-ia ¹⁸maḥar ut-ḫāp-še mār a-qa-wa-til ¹⁹maḥar a-ri-ga-ma-ri mār na-i-gi-mar ²⁰maḥar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ši-il-wa-a-a ²¹maḥar šuk-ri-ia mār a-ri-ip-ū-ra-aš-š[e] ²²maḥar pu-ḫi-ia mār še-el-wi-ia ²³maḥar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ha-ni-ku-ia ²⁴maḥar ta-a-a-ū-ki mār Ki. Min ²⁵maḥar ^dnabū-na-šir tupšarri

^a Tur. Sal. Meški.^b Tur. Salui.^c Ki. Balkat.^a The tablet has DU for uš.^b The tablet has SU for šu.

(Rev.) ²⁶kunuk ḥa-bil-ta-an-ga ²⁷kunuk ta-a-a-ú-ki ši-[bi] ²⁸kunuk a-kap-še-en-[ni] ma ... ²⁹kunuk še-na-a-a ši-[bi] ³⁰kunuk ḥu-ti-ia ši-bi ³¹kunuk a-ri-ga-ma-ri ši-bi (Edge) ³²[kunuk] tupšarri

25 (SMN 2017)

¹tup-pí ti-te-en-nu-ti ša ²ma-ri-lu mār (sic) ³a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti a-na bitā-ti-bi.^a ⁴meš ⁵tu-ul-pu-na-a-a mārāt še-el-tu-na-a-a ⁶ra-ma-aš-šu ú-se-ri-ib-šu ⁷10 imēr šeāti^{meš} ⁸1 Gud^{meš} (sic) ⁹1 Udu 2 Ri Ni^{meš} ša šammašammu^{meš} ¹⁰ú ¹¹1 Tūg^{meš} (sic) ¹²ma-ri-lu i-na bitāti-bi.^a ¹³meš ¹⁴tu-ul-pu-na-a-a il-qí ki-mu-ú ¹⁵kaspī^{meš} an-ni-i 50 sanāti^{meš} i-na bitāti-bi.^a ¹⁶meš ¹⁷tu-ul-pu-na-a-a a-ši-ib i-na Ud-ti ¹⁸sanāti^{meš} im-ta-lu-ú kaspī^{meš} ša libbi-bi tup-pí ¹⁹an-ni-i a-na bitāti-bi.^a ²⁰meš ²¹tu-ul-pu-na-a-a ²²ma-ri-lu ú-ta-ar-ma ú i-ri-ig

²³um-ma ²⁴ma-ri-lu-ma a-na ²⁵ku-ur-pa-ri ²⁶a-na ta-ki (sic) šarri i-di-n[a]-ni-mi ú ²⁷a-na-ku-mi kaspī^{meš} a-šar ²⁸tu-ul-pu-na-a-a ²⁹il-te-qí-mi ú a-na ³⁰ku-ur-pa-ri a-[dī]-in-mi ³¹ú um-ma ³²ku-ur-pa-ri-ma ú ri-ih-[tu] ³³kaspī^{meš} ša ta-di a-na ³⁴tu-ul-p[u-na-a-a] ³⁵a[t]-ta-di-in-mi ³⁶ma-ri-lu-ma ³⁷... ³⁸ih-li-te-šup ³⁹... ⁴⁰...-ri-ki ⁴¹ma-ri-lu kunuk ta-.... ⁴²[šum-ma ⁴³ku]-ur-pa-ri i-ša-si 1 Ma.Na kaspā ⁴⁴1 Ma.Na ḥurāša a-na ⁴⁵tu-ul-pu-na-a-[a umallā] ⁴⁶kunuk ⁴⁷ú-ti-ia

(Rev.) ⁴⁸maḥar ⁴⁹uš-še-en-ni mār ši-el... ⁵⁰maḥar še-en-ni-ia mār te-eš-šu-[ia] ⁵¹maḥar sa-at-tu-mar-di mār e-[ni-iš-ta-e] ⁵²maḥar ú-te-ia mār ḥa-ni-ku-ia ⁵³maḥar zi-li-ip-šarri mār e-ni-iš-[ta-e] ⁵⁴maḥar ma-at-te-šup mār na-ni-ia ⁵⁵maḥar a-ga-a-a mār ar-bi-ḥé ⁵⁶maḥar ḥu-di-ia mār na-ar-bi-ili ⁵⁷maḥar šu-ur-pa-a-a mār šilli-a-bi-ḥé ⁵⁸maḥar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ḥa-ni-ku-ia ⁵⁹maḥar ki-ip-gi-bar mār a-ga-wa ⁶⁰maḥar ša-ar-te-šup mār pu-ḥi-še-en-ni ⁶¹maḥar ta-i-še-en-ni mār pa-pa-a-a ⁶²maḥar ḥa-ši-pa-a-pu mār a-ri-ma-at-qa ⁶³maḥar še-el-li-te-šup mār ḥu-di-ia ⁶⁴maḥar šuk-ra-a-pu mār ar-te-ia ⁶⁵maḥar ta-a-a-ú-ki mār ḥa-ni-ku-ia ⁶⁶maḥar ḥu-i-te-šup mār ta-a-a-ú-ki ⁶⁷maḥar ⁶⁸ti-la-am-mu tup-šar-rum

⁶⁹kunuk ⁷⁰a-kap-še-en-ni ⁷¹kunuk ⁷²ta-a-a-ú-ki ⁷³kunuk ⁷⁴še-en-ni-ia ⁷⁵kunuk ⁷⁶zi-li-ip-šarri ⁷⁷kunuk ⁷⁸ba-te-šup (sic) ⁷⁹kunuk ⁸⁰šu-ru-pa-a-a

26 (SMN 2020)

¹tup-pí ti-te-nu-ti ša ²pu-ḥi-še-ni ³mār warad-gi-nu ú Ni-šu^{meš} ⁴a-na ti-te-nu-ti a-na bil ⁵du-ul-pu-na-a uš-te-ri-ib ⁶ú ⁷du-ul-pu-na-a ⁸11 imēr šea i-na Giš. Bar^{meš} ⁹1 ¹⁰ša Ḥar. Ra a-na ti-te-nu-ti a-na ¹¹pu-ḥi-še-ni id-di-in ¹²im-ma-ti-me-e 11 imēr šeāti^{meš} ¹³10 ¹⁴pu-ḥi-še-ni a-na ¹⁵du-ul-pu-na-a ¹⁶ú-ta-ar ú Ni-šu^{meš} ¹⁷ú-še-iš-ḡí

¹⁸maḥar ki-wa-ar-ra-áp-ḥi mār wa-an-ti-iš-še ¹⁹maḥar tu-ra-ri mār a-ki-p-šarri ²⁰maḥar ma-lí-ia mār na-i-še-ri ²¹maḥar pu-ḥi-še-ni mār ki-pa-pu ²²maḥar

a-gu-še-ni mār ha-ip-šarri ¹⁸maḥar a-ri-ga-ma-ri mār a-kap-še ¹⁹maḥar a-ki-ti-ir-wa mār pu-ḫi-še-ni ²⁰maḥar ha-aš-te-ia mār a-ga-wa-ti-l ²¹maḥar ut-háp-še-ni ²²Mašēn. Dū ²³maḥar pu-ḫi-še-ni mār ha-ma-an-na ²⁴maḥar a-kap-še-ni mār ši-il-wa-a ²⁵maḥar na-i-gi-mar mār a-ri-ma-at-ga ²⁶maḥar še-ir-ši-ia tup-šar-rum (Rev.) ²⁷aban mpu-ḫi-še-ni mār warad-gi-nu ²⁸aban mki-wa-ra-áp-ḫi mār wa-an-ti-iš-še ²⁹aban ma-ri-ga-ma-ri mār a-kap-še ³⁰aban mtu-ra-ri mār a-kip-šarri ³¹aban ma-gu-še-ni mār ha-ip-šarri ³²aban mha-aš-te-ia mār a-ga-wa-ti-l (Edse) ³³aban ma-kap-še-ni mār ši-il-wa-a ³⁴aban tup-šar-rum

27 (SMN 2031)

¹tup-pi ti-te-en-nu-ti ²mta-e-na mār ú-ga-ri ³mú-ga-ri a-bu-šu a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti ⁴a-na ⁵túl-pu-un-na-a-a a-na ⁶šanāti^{mes} ⁷i-din ⁸ú ⁹túl-pu-un-na-a-a ¹⁰imēr šeāti^{mes} ¹¹a-na ¹²mú-ga-ri i-din ¹³im-ma-ti-mi-e ¹⁴š ¹⁵šanāti^{mes} ¹⁶i-ma-al-lu ¹⁷imēr šeāti^{mes} ¹⁸mú-ga-ri a-na ¹⁹túl-pu-un-na-a-a ²⁰ú-ta-ar ²¹mta-e-na mār-a-šu ²²i-li-ig-gi ²³ú ²⁴šumma i-na ²⁵1 u₄-mi ²⁶11-i-na ši-íp-ri ša ²⁷túl-pu-un-na-a-a ²⁸mta-e-na i-pa-ad-du-ur ²⁹1 Ma. Na erā^{mes} ³⁰ú-ri-ḫu-ul-šu a-na ³¹1 u₄-mi ³²mú-ga-ri ³³a-na ³⁴túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-na-an-din ³⁵ú ³⁶mta-e-na ipra^{mes} ³⁷ú ³⁸š ³⁹lu-bu-ul-ta^{mes} ⁴⁰ú ⁴¹túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-na-an-ti-na-aš-šu

¹maḥar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ši-il-wa-a-a ²maḥar wu-ur-te-ia mār ha-ni-ku-ia ³maḥar šu-ra-a-a mār še-el-wi-ia ⁴maḥar un-nu-ki mār nu-ša-pu ⁵maḥar ha-na-a-a mār e-ni-iš-ta-e ⁶maḥar na-i-te-šup mār ar-te-ia ⁷maḥar qar-dī-ia mār e-ni-ia ⁸maḥar ni-ir-ḫi-ti-l-la mār du-ra-ri ⁹maḥar ni-ir-ḫi-ti-l-la mār a-kip-š[arri] (?) ¹⁰maḥar a-kap-še-ni mār ha-ni-ku-i[a] ¹¹maḥar ma-li-ia mār na-i-še-r[i] ¹²maḥar zi-li-ia mār pa-aq-ga (Rev.) ¹³maḥar wa-an-na-a-a [mār] ha-ni... ¹⁴maḥar ki-li-ia mār ki-li-ia

¹⁵kunuk ma-kap-še-ni ¹⁶mār ši-il-wa-a-a ¹⁷kunuk mzi-li-ia ¹⁸kunuk mna-i-te-šup ¹⁹kunuk ma-kap-še-ni ²⁰kunuk mgar-dī-ia ²¹kunuk mma-li-ia ²²kunuk mha-na-a-a ²³mār e-ni-iš-ta-e ²⁴kunuk mur-ḫi-ia tup-šar-rum ²⁵kunuk mwu-ur-te-ia

28 (SMN 2045)

¹10 imēr šeāti^{mes} ša ²túl-pu-un-na-a-[a] ³mārat še-el-du-un-na-a ⁴a-na ⁵mta-a-a mār ar-ta-mu-zi i-din ⁶ú ⁷mta-a-a māra-šú ⁸mar-ti-ir-wa ⁹a-na ¹⁰šanāti^{mes} ¹¹ti ¹²a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti ¹³a-na ¹⁴túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-din ¹⁵e-nu-ma ¹⁶šanāti^{mes} ¹⁷im-ta-lā ¹⁸10 imēr šeāti^{mes} ¹⁹mta-a-a a-na ²⁰túl-pu-un-na-a-a ²¹ú-ta-ar-ma ²²ú ²³māra-šú ²⁴i-liq-gi ²⁵10 uš-tu ²⁶4 aw[šlāti^{mes}] ²⁷ú-ru-ba-du ²⁸11 ša gi-ir-. ²⁹adad ša alāni^{mes} ³⁰ib-šu-ú ³¹12 ú ³²i-na-an-na [tup-p]a(?) ³³an-na ša-ti-ir ³⁴tup-pu i-na arki [šu-d]u-ti ³⁵14 i-na pa-ni abulli ša ³⁶U^{rite}im-te-na ša-ti-ir

¹⁵maḥar zi-li-ia mār ba-aq-ga ¹⁶maḥar wu-un-nu-ki-ia mār ki-iš-ku-bi ¹⁷maḥar ni-nu-a-ri mār a-kap-še-en-ni ¹⁸maḥar še-ša-a-a mār wu-ur-te-ia ¹⁹maḥar šúk-ri-ia mār šilli-dûri ²⁰[maḥar] ut-háp-ta-e mār ma-li-ia ²¹maḥar ar-til-la mār dup-ki-ia ²²maḥar am-ma-aq-ga mār eḥ-li-ia ²³maḥar na-al-du-uq-ga mār ḥa-ši-bu-gur (Rev.) ²⁴maḥar ni-ir-ḥi-tíl-la mār du-ra-ri ²⁵maḥar ḏsin-i-qí-ša tup-šar-rum ²⁶maḥar a-ri-im-ma-at-ga mār zi-li-ia

²⁷aban mšúk-ri-ia ²⁸aban mše-ša-a-a ²⁹aban mut-[ḥap-t]a-e ³⁰aban mni-nu-a-ri ³¹aban m[am]-ma-aq-ga ³²aban mzi-li-ia ³³aban mwu-un-nu-ki-ia ³⁴aban na-al-d[uq-ga] ³⁵aban ma-ri-im-ma-at-ga (Edes) ³⁶aban mḏs[in-i-qí]-ša tup-[šar]-rum

29 (SMN 2118)

¹li-ša-an-šu ša mšúk-te-šup (sic) ^{L4}Uš.Bar ²ina pa-ni a-na awēlati^{mes} šibūti^{mes} ³iq-ta-bi a-na ⁴túl-pu-un-na-a ⁵ti-te-en-na-ak ⁶ū ma-ḥi-iš pu-ti-ia ia-nu ⁷ū ra-ma-ni-ma ra-ma-ni ⁸i-na še-ir-še-ir-ri-ti ⁹i-it-ta-an-ni ¹⁰ū um-ma mšúk-te-šup-ma (sic) ¹¹šum-ma [aš-š]um še-ir-[še-ir-r]i-ti ¹²[... i-na arki]* ¹³túl-[pu-un-na-a-a] ¹⁴a-za-[az-zi](?) ... ¹⁵Ma.Na kas[pa] [a-na ¹⁶túl-pu-un-na-a-a] ¹⁷ū-ma-al-la

¹⁸maḥar tar-mi-te-šup mār ar-te-ia ¹⁹maḥar eḥ-li-te ša (Uru)(?) ša-am-ša (...) ²⁰maḥar ma-at-te-šup mār ḥa-ni-ga-d[u] ²¹maḥar wu-ur-te-ia mār ḥa-ni-ku-ia ²²maḥar na-i-gi-mar mār a-ri-ma-at-ga ²³maḥar ta-ū-ki mār ḥa-ni-ku-ia ²⁴maḥar iḥ-ḥi-ia mār Ki.Min ²⁵maḥar ú-nap-ta-e mār wa-an-ti-ia ²⁶maḥar wa-an-ti-ia ^{L4}tamkaru ²⁷ša Uru-ú-lam-me ²⁸maḥar še-ḥé-el-te-šup mār ḥu-di-ia ²⁹maḥar na-i-te-šup mār ar-te-ia ³⁰maḥar a-ga-a-a mār ar-bi-ḥé (Rev.) ³¹maḥar te-ḥi-ip-šarri mār ti-še-ḥi ³²maḥar šum-mi-še-en-ni mār ḥu-di-bu-gur ³³maḥar ur-ḥi-ia tup-šar-rum ³⁴maḥar a-kap-še-ni mār ḥa-ni-ku-ia ³⁵maḥar ut-háp-še mār a-ga-wa-tíl ³⁶kunuk mše-ḥé-el-te-šup mār ḥu-di-ia ³⁷kunuk ma-at-te-šup ³⁸kunuk mwa-an-ti-ia ^{L4}tamkaru ³⁹kunuk mna-i-te-šup [mār a]r-te-ia (Edes) ⁴⁰kunuk mte-ḥi-ip-šarri ⁴¹maḥar (sic) ri-mu-šarri mār iz-za-ta-bi ⁴²kunuk mwu-ur-te-ia

30 (SMN 2119)

¹tup-pi märtuti^{ti} ù gal-lu-ti ²ša ³ḥa-ši-im-ma-at-ga ⁴ki-sa-a-a mār-at-zu ša ⁵ḥa-ši-ma-at-ga ⁶ū EN-šu ù li-ša-an-šú ⁷ki-sa-a-a ⁸a-na märtuti^{ti} ù gal-lu-ti ⁹a-na ¹⁰tul-pu-na-a-a mārāt še-el-tu, na-a-a i-din-ši ¹¹ū ¹²tul-pu-na-a-a a-šar ḥa-a-te-e a-šar wardūti^{mes}-šu ¹³ki-sa-a-a a-na aš-[šu-d]i i-na-din-ši ¹⁴mut a-za Ba. ¹⁵U[š^{mes}] a-n[a ša]-a-ni awēli [inamdin] ¹⁶ša-a-nu awēlu Ba. ¹⁷U[š^{mes}] a-na ša-aš-ši awēli inamdin ¹⁸ša-a[š-š]u aw[ēlu B]a. ¹⁹U[š^{mes}] ù a-na ri-e-be awēli inamdin ²⁰ri-e-bu awēlu Ba. ²¹U[š^{mes}] ù ur-ka, az-zu ²².ša(?) ²³ik[i]-sa-a-a ša ²⁴tul-pu-na-

a-a-ma ¹⁴ù a-di-i /ki-sa-a-a bal-tu, ¹⁵ù iš-tu, biti ša /tul-p/ u-na-a-a la ú-uš-[šf]
¹⁶ù kaspu^{meš} ša /k/ i-sa-a-a qa-me-ir [ù ? /] ki-sa-a-a ša ki-i DAM(?)^{meš} ša
 /Tul-pu-na-a-a umallā(?) ¹⁷šum-ma /ki-s[a-a]-a Ki. Bal-kat ù iš-tu, ¹⁸bit /tul-
 [pu-na]-a-a ú-uš-ši ¹⁹I Ma. Na [kaspa] [I] Ma. Na [hurā]ša a-na ²⁰/tul-[pu-
 na]-a-a ú-[ma]-al-la

²¹maḥar [ta-a-a]-ù-ki [mā]r ḥa-ni-ku-ia ²²maḥar dup-ki-[ia] mār ri-mu-
 šarri ²³maḥar ut-ḥap-t[a]-e mār dup-ki-ia ²⁴maḥar še-en-na-a-a mār te-eš-šu-ia
²⁵maḥar ḥa-na-a-a mār e-ni-iš-ta-e ²⁶maḥar šilli-dūri mār dadad-mu-ši-li ²⁷maḥar
 šak-ri-ia mār ki-bi-šu-ur-ri ²⁸maḥar wu-ur-te-ia mār ḥa-ni-ku-ia ²⁹maḥar ma-at-
 te-šup mār ḥa-ni-qa-tum ³⁰maḥar ar-bi-ḥé mār a-ri-pu-ra-aš-še ³¹maḥar ia-an-
 zi-ma-aš-ḥu mār a-it-ta-ra ³²maḥar ni-ir-ḥi-til-la mār du-ra-ri ³³maḥar ḥu-di-ia
 mār ḥa-ši-ia ³⁴maḥar ta-a-a mār en-ša-rum ³⁵maḥar šur-pa-a-a mār šilli-a-
 bi-ḥé (Rev.) ³⁶maḥar pu-ḥi-še-en-ni mār ḥa-ma-an-na ³⁷maḥar ú-nap-ta-e mār
 wa-an-ti-ia ³⁸maḥar ar-te-im-tu-e mār ma-li-ia ³⁹maḥar ut-ḥap-ta-e mār Ki.
 Min ⁴⁰maḥar ur-ḥi-ia tup-šar-rum

⁴¹kunuk ^{meš}še-en-na-a-a ⁴²kunuk ^{meš}šuk-ri-ia ⁴³kunuk ^{meš}wu-ur-te-ia ⁴⁴kunuk ^{meš}ma-
 at-te-šup ⁴⁵kunuk ^{meš}ḥu-di-ia (Edg.) ⁴⁶kunuk ^{meš}a-ri-be-ra ⁴⁷kunuk ^{meš}ur-ḥi-ia tup-
 šarru

31 (SMN 2103)

¹lišān-šu ša /ki-za-a-a ²a-na pa-ni awēlāti^{meš} šibāti^{meš} ³an-[nu]-ti ⁴a-na /túl-
 pu-na-a-a ki-a-am iq-ta-bi ⁵am-mi-ni a-na ⁶ma-an-nu-ia ub-bu-ti ⁷a-na aš-šu-ti
 ta-na-an-dā-ni-mi ⁸a-šar ⁹ma-an-nu-ia šu-la-an-ni-mi ¹⁰ù a-na ¹¹ar-te-ia mār
 a-wi-iš-ki-pa ¹²a-na aš-šu-ti i-id-na-an-ni-mi ¹³ù lišān-šu-ma /ki-za-a-a ¹⁴a-na
¹⁵ar-te-ia mār a-wi-iš-ki-pa ¹⁶a-na aš-šu-ti it-ta-ti-in ¹⁷ù i-na bá-ababullī^{meš} i-na
¹⁸ur-te-im-te-na ¹⁹ḥu šu-ti-iq ù a-wa-az-zu ²⁰ir-ta-ak-sú ki-i-m[e]-e /ki-za-a-a
²¹a-na aš-[š]u-ti a-na ²²ar-[te]-ia it-ta-ad-nu

²³maḥar u-na-ap-ta-e [mār wa-an-ti-ia] ²⁴maḥar ta-[a]-a-u-ki [mār ḥa-ni-
 ku-ia] ²⁵maḥar še(?)-. . . . (several lines lost) (Rev.) ²⁶maḥar ²⁷maḥar
 zi(?)-. . . e-. . .-z[u]* ²⁸maḥar šu-ur-[pa-a-a] mār šilli-a-b[i-ḥé] ²⁹maḥar šer
 (?)-ši-[ia] tup-šar-rum

³⁰kunuk ^{meš}še-na-a-a ³¹kunuk tup-šar-rum ³²kunuk ^{meš}ki-pa-ar-ra-áb-(<ḥi> ³³kun-
 uk ù-na-áp-ta-e ³⁴kunuk ^{meš}ta-a-ú-ki ³⁵kunuk ^{meš}a-i-it-ta-ra ³⁶kunuk ^{meš}ut-ḥap-ta-e
³⁷kunuk ^{meš}gar-ti-ia (Edg.) ³⁸kunuk ^{meš}ki-bi-til-la ³⁹kunuk ^{meš}zi-li-ia

32 (SMN 2026)

¹um-ma /ki-sa-a-a-ma mārāt a-ri-ia ²aššat^{ar} ša ³ar-te-ia amat-zu ⁴ša /túl-pu-
 un-na-a-a ⁵ù ⁶in-zi-te-šup (written over erasure) mār-ia ⁷a-na ⁸ar-te-ia ú-li-
 du-ú ⁹ù a-na /túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-din-mi ¹⁰ù /túl-pu-un-na-a-a ¹¹si-is-si-ik-ta-šu

ša⁹ /ki-sa-a-a iḫ-ta-aq-šu¹⁰ šum-ma /ki-sa-a-a Ki.Bal-at¹¹ aš-šum^m in-zi-te-šup
i-na arki¹² /túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-ša-as-sí¹³ ù^m in-zi-te-šup¹ [túl-p]u-un-na-a-a
¹⁴ki-me-e ú-ka₁-al-ma ú-ka₁-al¹⁵ ù^m /ki-sa-a-a 10 Sal^{meš} nu-ul-lu-a-ú¹⁶ a-na /túl-
pu-un-na-a-a ú-ma-al-la

¹⁷maḥar še-en-na-a-a mār še^a-eš-šu-ia¹⁸ maḥar ta-a-a-ú-ki maḥar a-kap-še-en-ni
mār^{meš} ḥa-ni-ku-ia¹⁹ maḥar pu-ḥi-še-en-ni mār ḥa-ma-an-na²⁰ maḥar na-i-te-
šup mār ar-te-ia²¹ maḥar ša-ad-du-mar-ti mār e-ni-iš-ta-e²² maḥar wa-an-ti-
iš-še mār a-ri-ip-ú-ra-aš-še²³ maḥar ma-at-te-šup mār ḥi-il-bi-iš-šu-uh²⁴ maḥar
il-ḥi-ip-ti-l-la mār ma-at-te-šup (Rev.)²⁵ maḥar ar-te-im-du-e mār ma-li-ia²⁶
²⁶maḥar un-nu-qa mār pa-aq-qa²⁷ maḥar ia-[an]-zi-ma-aš-ḥu mār a-it-ta-ra²⁸
²⁸maḥar še-e[n-n]a-a mār a-kap-še²⁹ maḥar qar-t[i]-ia mār a-kap-še-en-ni

³⁰aban^m [še-en]-na-a-a³¹ aban^m še-en-na-a-a³² aban^m na-i-te-šup³³ aban^m ta-a-
a-ú-ki³⁴ aban^m pu-ḥi-še-en-ni³⁵ aban^m a-kap-še-en-ni³⁶ aban^m qar-ti-ia³⁷ aban^m
ma-at-te-šup³⁸ aban^m wa-an-ti-iš-še³⁹ aban^m ša-ad-du-mar-ti (Edg)⁴⁰ i-na arki
šu-du-ti⁴¹ tup-pa an-na i-na pa-ni⁴² abulli ša^{Uru} te-im-te-na-aš⁴³ ša-ṭi-ir⁴⁴ aban^m
sin-i-di-in tup-šar-rum

33 (SMN 2019)

¹/du-ul-pu-un-na-a-a² mārāt še-el-tu₁-un-na-a-a³ it-ti /ḥa-ši-im-ma-at-qa⁴ ù^m
it-ti /ki-sa-a-a⁵ ina di-ni a-na pa-ni daiāni^{meš}⁶ i-te-lu-ú-ma ù^m awēlūti^{meš} ši-bu-
ti-šu⁷ ša /du-ul-pu-un-na-a-a⁸ a-na pa-ni daiāni^{meš} ki-na-an-na iq-ta-bi⁹ ù^m /ḥa-
ši-im-ma-at-qa¹⁰ ù^m mārāt-zu ša /ki-sa-a-a¹¹ ù^m lišān-šu /ki-sa-a-a¹² a-na mārūtūti^a
ù^m kal-lu-ti¹³ a-na /túl-pu-un-na-a-a it-ta-ad-na-aš-šu¹⁴ /túl-pu-un-na-a-a^m /ki-
sa-a-a¹⁵ a-na aš-šu-ti i-na ḥa-aš-ḥi i-na-an-din¹⁶ /du-ul-pu-un-na-a-a¹⁷ ḥa-aš-
ḥu-uš^a-šu a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-din-nu¹⁸ ištēn mut-za imtūt (Ba. Ūš^{meš}) a-na ša-ni
awēli inamdin¹⁹ ša-nu awēlu imtūt a-na ša-aš-ši awēli inamdin²⁰ ša-aš-ši awēlu
imtūt a-na²¹ ri-bi awēli inamdin^{nu} i-na bit^u²² ša /du-ul-pu-na-a-a (Rev.)²³ la
ú-ši-ib²⁴ ma-a-a-ú-ki mār ḥa-ni-ku-ia²⁵ mu-ur-te-ia mār ḥa-nu-qa-a-a²⁶ mut-
ḥáp-ta-e mār dup-ki-ia²⁷ mše-na-a-a mār te-eš-ia-ia (sic)²⁸ mḥa-na-a-a mār
e-ni-iš-ta-e²⁹ mdup-ki-ia mār ri-mu-šarri³⁰ awēlūti^{meš} ši-bu-ti-šu a-na pa-ni³¹
daiāni^{meš} im-ta-a-nu³² daiānū^{meš} awēlūti^{meš} ma-za-du-uh-li³³ ù^m mḥa-šu-ar
it-ti ši-bu-ti-šu³⁴ a-šar ilāni^{meš} iš-tap-ru uš-tu₁³⁵ ilāni^{meš} /ḥa-ši-ma-at-qa³⁶ ù^m /ki-
sa-a-a i-du-ra³⁷ ina di-ni /túl-pu-na-a-a il-te-e³⁸ ù^m /ki-sa-a-a il-te-qí³⁹ qāt^a šamaš-
ilu-reštū

⁴⁰aban^m ni-ki-ia⁴¹ aban^m ḥé-ir-ši^a-ia⁴² aban^m šur-kip-šarri (Edg)⁴³ [aban^m] a-
kap-še-ni⁴⁴ aban^m ki-li-ia

^a ŠE is probably an error for te.

^a Tur. Sal. tu(m)-ti.

34 (SMN 2028)

¹li-ša-an-šu ša ²m̃ha-na-a-a ³mār te-en-te-ia ina pa-ni awēlūtī^{mes} šībūtī^{mes} ⁴iq-ta-bi ⁵ḥa-šu-un-na-a-a ⁶te-en-te-ia a-bu-ia ⁷ip-pa-na-ti-im-ma a-na amtūtī^{ti} (Gim-ti) ⁸a-na ⁹še-el-tu₄-un-na-a-a i-din ¹⁰ū i-na-an-na a-na-ku ¹¹ḥi-in-zu-ri ¹²la-su-lī ¹³pa-pa-a-a ū ¹⁴ma-ri-be-en-ni ¹⁵4 Nam.Lú.Lú^{mes} an-nu-ti ša aš-bu-u ¹⁶še-ir-ri-šu ša ¹⁷ḥa-šu-un-na-a-a ¹⁸ū it-ti še-ir-ri-šu-nu-ma-mi(?) ¹⁹* ²⁰12a-na ²¹túl-pu-un-na-a-a mārāt še-el-tu₄-un-na-a-a ²²13a-na amtūtī^{mes} ū wardūtī^{mes} ²³ti at-ta-din ²⁴ū mi-nu-um-mi-e še-ir-ri-šu ²⁵16ri-ḥu-ti ša la aš-bu ša ²⁶ḥa-šu-un-na-a-a ²⁷16ū a-na ²⁸túl-pu-un-na-a-a-ma at-ta-ad-na-aš-šu-nu-ti ²⁹17ū 5 imēr šeātī^{mes} 1 imēr ku-ni-šu ³⁰50 (qa) ki-pa-tum^{mes} ³¹181 Tág 2 Udu^{mes} ū 4 qa Ni^{mes} ³²túl-pu-un-na-a-a ³³19a-na ³⁴m̃ha-na-a-a a-na ši-im Nam.L[ú]^{mes} an-nu-ti i-din šum-ma Nam.Lú.Lú^{mes} ³⁵20an-nu-ti ša ina tup-pi an-ni-ti pa-gi-ra-na ³⁶21ra-aš-šu-ū ³⁷m̃ha-na-a-a ³⁸ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma ³⁹22a-na ⁴⁰túl-pu-na-a-a i-na-an-din ⁴¹23ū š[um]-ma Nam.Lú.Lú^{mes} an-nu-ti ⁴²še-ir-ri-šu ⁴³24[ša ⁴⁴ḥ]a-šum-na-a-a (erasure) ⁴⁵25[iš-tu bil]^{ti} ⁴⁶túl-pu-un-na-a-a ⁴⁷ú-pu ⁴⁸a-šú-ū ⁴⁹26[ū ⁵⁰m̃ha-na]-a-a-ma ⁵¹ú-za-ak-ka₄-šu-nu-ti ⁵²27[ū a-na] ⁵³túl-pu-un-na-a-a ⁵⁴ú-ta-ar-šu-nu-ti ⁵⁵28... [šum-ma ⁵⁶m̃ha-na]-a-a ⁵⁷ibalkat^{kat} 4(?) Nam.Lú.Lú^{mes} ⁵⁸29[umalla] (?) [šum-ma ⁵⁹m̃ha-na-a-a] (?) [i-na arki]^{ki} ⁶⁰túl-pu-[un-na-a-a] ⁶¹i-ša-as-si ⁶²30[I] (?) bilat kaspā ... ⁶³31[umall]ā^{ka} (about 4 lines destroyed at the end of the Obv.)

(Lower Edge) ⁶⁴32maḥar pur-pa... ⁶⁵33maḥar ia-an-[zi-ma-aš-ḥu mār a-it-ta-ra] ⁶⁶34maḥar šūk-ri-ia mār k[i]-... (Rev.) ⁶⁷35maḥar ū-nap-ta-e mār wa-[an-ti-ia] ⁶⁸36maḥar ḥa-ab-zi-la-ak-ku mār ... ⁶⁹37maḥar a-ri-be-ra mār kap... ⁷⁰38maḥar ni-ir-ḥi-ti-l-la mār tu-ra-r[i] ⁷¹39maḥar ut-ḥap-ta-e mār dup-ki-ia ⁷²40maḥar a-ga-a-a mār ar-bi-ḥé ⁷³41maḥar ḥu-di-ia mār ḥa-ši-ia ⁷⁴42maḥar gi-wa-ta-e mār mu-[uš]-te-šup ⁷⁵43maḥar wu-ur-te-ia mār ḥa-ni-ku ⁷⁶44maḥar šilli-dāri mār ⁷⁷45adad-mu-šal-li ⁷⁸46maḥar šur-[pa-a] mār šilli-a-bi-ḥé ⁷⁹47maḥar ... mār ḥa-ši-gi-mar ⁸⁰48[maḥar] ar-te-im-tu-e mār ma-li-ia ⁸¹49maḥar ta-a-a mār En-ša-ru ⁸²50maḥar dup-ki-ia mār ri-mu-šarri ⁸³51maḥar ḥa-na-a-a mār e-ni-iš-ta-e ⁸⁴52maḥar ḥu-di-ia mār te-šup-ir-wi ⁸⁵53maḥar [u]r-ḥi-ia tup-šar-rum ⁸⁶54maḥar k[i]-me-il-[l]a-ta mār me-li-ia

⁸⁷55aban ⁸⁸m̃hu-di-ia ⁸⁹56aban ⁹⁰m̃šūk-ri-ia ⁹¹57aban ⁹²m̃še-en-na-a-a ⁹³58aban ⁹⁴m̃ut-ḥap-ta-e ⁹⁵59aban ⁹⁶ma-ri-be-ra ⁹⁷60aban ⁹⁸m̃gi-wa-ta-e ⁹⁹61aban ¹⁰⁰m̃wu-ur-te-ia (Edge) ¹⁰¹62aban ¹⁰²ma[r-t]e-i[m]-du-e ¹⁰³63aban ¹⁰⁴m̃dup-ki-ia ¹⁰⁵64aban ¹⁰⁶m̃(sic) tupšarri

35 (SMN 2018)

¹li-ša-an-šu ša ²m̃ki-i[p](?)... ³2mār wa-an-ti-iš-še ⁴3i-na pa-ni awēlūtī^{mes} šībūtī^{mes} ⁵ti [iq-ta-bi] ⁶4kaspē^{mes} te-ḥa-am-pa-aš-[ḥi] ⁷5ša ⁸ma-ri-iḥ-e-en-ni ⁹6a-šar ¹⁰túl-pu-un-na-a-a [el-te-gi](?) ¹¹7ū ¹²ū-ki-im-mi-ir ¹³8iš-tu₄ i-na u₄-mi an-ni-i (...)

a PU is an error for u₃.

⁹aš-šum kaspē^{mes} te-ḫa-am-pa-á[š-ḫi] ¹⁰ša ma-ri-ib-e-en-n[i] ¹¹ina arki^{ki} 'túl-pu-un-[na-a-a] ¹²la a-ša-as-sí ¹³(erasure)

¹⁴maḫar te-eš-šu-ia mār še-eš-wa... ¹⁵maḫar ma-at-te-šup mār ḫa-ni-[qatum] ¹⁶maḫar zi-lip-šarri mār e-ni-[iṣ-ta-e](?) ¹⁷maḫar ši-mi-qa-ri mār nu-ur... ¹⁸maḫar a-kap-še-en-ni mār ḫa-ši... ¹⁹maḫar ar-zi-iz-za mār ta-i... ²⁰maḫar gi-wa-ta-e mār mu-uš-te-[šup] ²¹maḫar ú-na-ap-ta-e mār en-ku-ub... ²²maḫar še-ḫé-el-te-šup mār ḫu-di-ia ²³maḫar pu-ḫi-še-en-ni ²⁴mār ḫa-ma-an-na ²⁵maḫar na-i-gi-mar ²⁶mār a-ri-ma-at-qa (Rev.) ²⁷maḫar ta-ù-ki L⁴nappāḫu ²⁸maḫar ur-ḫi-ia tupšarri

²⁹kunuk m^u-nap-ta-e ³⁰kunuk m^a-l[i-ia] ³¹kunuk m^{zi}-[lip-šarri] ³²kunuk m^{ar}-[zi-iz-za] (Edg.) ³³kunuk m^{ur}-ḫi-ia tupšarri ³⁴kunuk m^{še}-ḫé-el-te-šup

36 (SMN 2063)

¹um-ma '...-ni-ia-ma mārat m^{na}-ni-ia ²'wa-ni-im-bi amti-ia ³a-na amtūti^{ti} a-na 'túl-pu-na-a-a at-ta-din ⁴mšúk-ri-ia ur-ta-pa-aš ⁵ù a-na 'túl-pu-na-a-a at-ta-din ⁶im-ma-ti-me-e mšúk-ri-ia ⁷i-na bit 'túl-pu-na-a-a ú-uš-sí ⁸ù il-te-en awēla damqa^a ⁹ša Kur^{nu}-ul-lu-a-i ki-i-mu ¹⁰...-ḫi-šú pu-ḫi-šú ¹¹['...-ni-ia] i-na-an-din ¹²[ù mšúk-ri-ia ú-še]-iṣ-sí ¹³... pu-ḫi-šú (the lower half of the Obv. and the upper half of the Rev., are lost) (Rev.) ¹⁴[kunuk '']...-ni-ia mārat na-ni-ia ¹⁵kunuk m^{gi}-lip-šarri ¹⁶kunuk tup-šar-rum ¹⁷kunuk m^{še}-na-a-a ¹⁸kunuk m^{kip}-gi-mar (Edg.) ¹⁹kunuk m^{te}-šup-ir-wi

37 (SMN 2111)

¹m^{mu}-uš-te-ia mār a-ri-il-lu-um-ti ²ù m^{ar}-bi-ḫé mār mu-uš-te-ia-ma ³warad-zu-nu m^{du}-ur-mar-[i]i ⁴a-na ši-i-me a-na ⁵'túl-pu-un-na-a-a ⁶māratⁱ 'še-el-du-un-na-a-a ⁷it-ta-ad-nu ù ⁸'túl-pu-un-na-a-a ⁹2 imēr 2⁴ qā šea 1 alpa ù 1 bilat erā^{mes} ¹⁰a-na m^{mu}-uš-te-ia ù a-na ¹¹māri-šu m^{ar}-bi-ḫé ¹²it-ta-ad-na-aš-šu-nu-ti ¹³šum-ma m^{du}-ur-mar-ti ¹⁴pa-gi-ra-na irtaši ù ¹⁵m^{mu}-uš-te-ia ù m^{ar}-bi-ḫé ¹⁶ú-za-ak-ku-ú-ma ¹⁷a-na 'túl-pu-un-na-a-a inaddinū^{nu} ¹⁸ù šum-ma m^{dur}-mar-ti ¹⁹la uz-zi-ik-ku-ú ²⁰ù 2 awēlūti^{mes} ša ki-i ²¹m^{dur}-mar-ti ib-šu ²²ša Kur^{nu}-ul-lu-a-a-i (Rev.) ²³a-na 'túl-pu-un-na-a-a inaddinū^{nu} ²⁴šum-ma m^{mu}-uš-te-ia ù mār-šu ²⁵ibalkatu^{tum} kaspā ša innadnū^{nu} ²⁶2-šu ú-ma-al-lu-ú ²⁷1 Ma. Na kaspā 1 Ma. Na ḫurāša ²⁸a-na 'túl-pu-un-na-a-a ú-ma-al-lu-ú

²⁹maḫar m^{ta}-a-a-ú-ki mār ḫa-ni-ku ³⁰maḫar m^{dup}-ki-ia mār ri-mu-šarri ³¹maḫar m^a-kap-še-ni L⁴ma-ru-zu ³²maḫar m^{te}-šup-ir-wi mār d[ur](?)-šarri ³³maḫar m^a-ga-a-a mār a[r]-bi-ḫé ³⁴maḫar m^{ut}-ḫáp-še mār da-li-ia ³⁵maḫar m^{ma}-li-ia mār na-i-še-ri ³⁶maḫar m^a-i-it-ta-a-ra mār šu-uh-n[i]-zi(?) -ru ³⁷maḫar m^{šur}-pa-a-a mār ar-bi-ḫé ³⁸maḫar m^{gi}-wa-ta-e mār mu-uš-te-ia ³⁹maḫar

ma-kap-še-ni mār ha-ni-ku-ia ⁴⁰*maḥar mni-ir-ḫi-til-la* ⁴¹*mār du-ra-ri* ⁴²*maḥar m^ašamaš-ilu-reštū mār ta-a-a tup-šar-rum*

⁴³*kunuk m^dup-ḫi-ia* ⁴⁴*aban ma-kap-še-ni* ⁴⁵*aban mta-a-a-ū-[ki]* (Edge) ⁴⁶*aban mte-šup-ir-wi* ⁴⁷*aban m^ašamaš-ilu-reštū* ⁴⁸*aban mma-li-ia*

38 (SMN 2033)

¹*[du-ul-pu]-un-na-a-a* ²*[it-ti m^u]t-ḥáp-še mār qa-li-ia* ³*[i-na di-n]i a-na pa-ni daiāni^{mes}* ⁴*[i-te-l]u-ú-ma* ⁵*[um-m]a du-ul-pu-un-na-a-a-ma* ⁶*[m^{ta}]-e mār a-qa-wa-til* ⁷*ù [mā]ra-šu mBe-la-a-a* ⁸*a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti ki-ma* ¹ ¹⁴*wardi* ⁹*ù ki-ma* ¹² ^{Udu^{bi.a}mes} ¹⁰*a-na ia-ši iddin-mi* ¹¹*[ù ar]ka^{ka}-nu mta-e im-tù-ut-mi* ¹²*[ù] mut-ḥáp-še e-wu-ru-um-ma* ¹³*[i]-te-pu-uš-mi* ¹⁴*ù daiānū^{mes}* ^{mut-ḥáp-še} ¹⁵*[iṣ-t]a-lu-šu mta-e mār-šu* ¹⁶*[mBe-la]-a-a a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti* ¹⁷*[ki-ma 1]* ¹⁴*wardi ki-ma* ¹² ^{Udu^{mes}} ¹⁸*[a-na du-ul-p]u-un-na-a-a* ¹⁹*[iddin]^{an}-mi* ²⁰*[ù um-ma m^u]t-ḥáp-še-ma mta-e* (Rev.) ²¹*[mār-šu mBe]-la-a-a a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti* ²²*[iddin^{an}]-mi* ^ù ¹*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* ²³*[tuppa]-šu ša ti-te-en-nu-ti-šu ša mta-e* ²⁴*ul-te-li* ²⁵*[ù] lišān-šu ša mut-ḥáp-še i-na di-ni* ²⁶*[a-na] pa-ni daiāni^{mes}* ^{iq-ta-bi} ²⁷*[a-na]-ku mta-e aḫi-ia e-wu-ru-um-ma* ²⁸*[i]-tepu-uš-mi* ¹ ¹*túl-pu-un-na-a-a* ²⁹*i-na di-ni il-te-e-ma* ^ù ¹*daiānū^{mes}* ³⁰*mut-ḥáp-še ki-ma tup-pi-šu* ³¹*ù ki-ma lišān-šu-ma a-na* ¹ ¹⁴*wardi* ³²*ù a-na* ¹² ^{Udu^{mes}} ^{ša ti-te-en-nu-ti-šu} ³³*ša mta-e a-na tұл-pu-na-a-a* ³⁴*[it]-ta-du-uš ki-mi-e eglāti^{mes}-šu bitāti^{mes}-šú* ³⁵*[ša] (?) mta-e mut-ḥáp-še il-te-qì*

³⁶*aban mše-en-nu-un-ni* ³⁷*[aban] mpu-ra-sa* (Edge) ³⁸*aban m, . . .*

39 (SMN 2074)

¹*tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a mārāt še-el-du-un-na-a-a* ²*it-ti za-am-mi-in-ni mārāt i-la-ab-ri-ia-aš* ³*ù it-ti mwa-an-ti-ia mār i-la-ab-ri-ia* ⁴*aš-šum še-ir-ri-šu ša za-am-mi-in-ni* ⁵*ša a-na mar-ru-um-ma wardi^{ti}* ⁶*ša tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a [I]u (?) wa-al-du* ⁷*i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni daiāni^{mes}* ⁸*i-te-lu-ú-ma* ^ù ^{um-ma} ⁹*tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a-ma* ¹⁰*še-ir-ri-šu ša za-am-mi-in-[ni]* ¹¹*a-na mar-ru-um-ba (sic) wardi-ia* ¹²*wa-al-du-mi* ^ù ¹*lišānū^{mes}-šu-nu* ¹³*ša za-am-mi-ni* ^ù ^{ša ¹⁴*mwa-an-ti-ia a-na pa-ni daiāni^{mes}* ¹⁵*iq-ta-bu-ú a-an-ni-mi* ¹⁶*a-na mar-ru-um-ba wardi* ¹⁷*ša tұл-pu-un-na-a-a wa-al-du-mi* ¹⁸*i-na di-ni tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* ¹⁹*il-te-e-ma* ^ù ^{še-ir-ri-šu} ²⁰*ša za-am-mi-in-ni* ²¹*[ša a-na] mar-ru-um-[ba] [wa-a]l-du* ²²*.... r[i] el-[te-qì] (?)*}

²³*.....-ši* (Rev.) ²⁴*.... a-na amti^{ti}* ²⁵*kunuk mar-te-ia mār pu-i-ta-e* ²⁶*kunuk mḫa-iš-te-šup mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni* ²⁷*kunuk mšur-kip-šarri mār a-ta-a-a* ²⁸*kunuk mba-a-a mār pu-i-ta-e* (Edge) ²⁹*.....-še*

^a The tablet has BU for mi.

40 (SMN 2145)

¹*'tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a mārat š[e-el-tu-un-na-a-a]* ²*it-ti ma-mar-ša-ili* ^{L6}*ha-bi-ru-ú* ... ³*ina di-ni a-na pa-ni daiāni^{mes} i-te-lu-ma* ⁴*ki-me-e ma-mar-ša-ili a-na warduti^{ti}* ⁵*a-na 'tu-ul-pu-un-na-a i-ru-bu(?)* ⁶*ù it-ta-bal-ka₁-ma ù a-na pa-ni* ⁷*daiāni^{mes} i-te-li ù lišān-šu ša* ⁸*ma-mar-ša-ili a-na pa-ni daiāni^{mes} ig-ta-bi* ⁹*a-na warduti^{ti}* ¹⁰*ša 'tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* ^{10e}*ru-um-me i-na di-ni 'tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* ¹¹*il-te-e ù daiāni^{mes} a-na ma-mar-ša-ili* ¹²*ki-ma lišān-šu a-na 'tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* ¹³*a-na warduti^{ti} it-ta-an-nu-uš*

¹⁴*kunuk mzi-li-ia mār ši-mi-qa-ri* ¹⁵*kunuk mpa-a-[a]* (Rev.) ¹⁶*kunuk mgi-li-ia mār pa-zi-ia* ¹⁷*kunuk mtar-mi-ia mār e-en-n[a-m]a-ti* ¹⁸*kunuk mpa-zi-ia* ¹⁹*kunuk me-gi-gi mār gi-li-ia* ²⁰*kunuk mta-ḫi-ri-ti* (Edg.) ²¹*qāt šumu-libši^{ki} mār ta-a-a tupšarri*

41 (SMN 2023)

¹*'túl-ul-pu-un-na-a-a* ²*mārat še-el-tu₁-un-na-a-a* ³*it-ti mki-il-li mār eḫ-li-ia* ⁴*ina di-ni a-na pa-ni daiāni^{mes}* ⁵*ša U^{te}te-im-te-na i-te-lu-ma* ⁶*mē^{mes} (A. Meš)* *pa-a-tu* ^{L6}*ku-gal-lu* ⁷*a-na 'túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-din* ⁸*ù mki-il-li ip-ta-ta-ak-ma* ⁹*ù eglāti^{mes} šu iš-ta-qí-šu* ¹⁰*ù ki-ma mē^{mes} pa-a-tu* ¹¹*ša 'túl-pu-un-na-a-a il-te-qí* ¹²*ù eglāti^{mes} šu iš-ta-qí-šu* ¹³*ù li-ša-an-šu ša mki-il-li* ¹⁴*ina pa-ni awēlāti^{mes} daiāni^{mes} ig-ta-bi* ¹⁵*mē^{mes} pa-a-tu ša 'túl-pu-un-na-a-a* ¹⁶*el-te-qí-mi ù eqli-ia a-aš-qí-mi* ¹⁷*ina di-ni 'túl-pu-un-na-a-a* ¹⁸*il-te-e-ma ù awēlāti^{mes} daiāni^{mes}* ¹⁹*a-na 1 alpi mki-il-li* ²⁰*a-na 'túl-pu-un-na-a-a* ²¹*il-ta-tu₁-uš* (erasure)

(Rev.) ²²*kunuk mha-ši-i[a]* ²³*mār a-ar-ta-e daiāni* ²³*kunuk mte-eš-šu-ia mār še-eš-wa-a-a* ²⁴^{L6}*daiāni* ²⁵*kunuk mma-at-te-šup* ²⁶*mār ḫa-ni-qa-tum daiāni* ²⁷*kunuk mgi-lip-šarri* ²⁸*mār e-ni-iš-ta-e daiāni* ²⁹*kunuk ma-ḫap-še-en-ni* ³⁰*mār ši-il-wa-a-a daiāni* (Edg.) ³¹*qāt m_{ur}-ḫi-ia tup-šar-rum*

42 (SMN 2037)

¹*[tup]-pí ma-ar-tu₁-ti ù gal-[lu-ti]* ²*ša 'ḫa-na-te amat 'túl-p[u-na]-a-a* ³*'ḫal-pa-pu-ša mārat* ⁴*mšúk-ra-pu mār ar-na-mar* ⁵*ù 'ḫi-ia-ri-el-li aššati^{ti} ša mšúk-ra-pu* ⁶*a-na ma-ar-tu₁-ti ù gal-lu-ti* ⁷*a-na 'ḫa-na-te amti ša 'túl-pu-na-a-a iddinu^{nu}* ⁸*ù 'ḫa-na-te a-šar ḫa-a-de₁ 'ḫal-pa-pu-ša* ⁹*a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-an-din a-na* ^{L6}*wardi a-na aš-šu-ti* ¹⁰*i-na-an-din-ši išten* ^{L6}*mu-uz-za imtūt* (Ba. Ūš. Meš) ¹¹*a-na ša-a-ni awēli inandin šum-ma awēlu ša-a-[nu m]u-uz-za* ¹²*imtūt ù a-na ša-aš-ši awēli inandin* ¹³*šum-ma ša-aš-šu* ^{L6}*mu-uz-za imtūt* ¹⁴*ù ur-ka₁-az-zu ša 'ḫal-pa-pu-ša* ¹⁵*ša '[ḫ]a-na-te-ma ù um-ma mšúk-ra-pu* ¹⁶*ù um-ma 'ḫi-ia-ri-el-li-ma* ¹⁷*'ḫa-na-[te] iš-tu₁ sú-ú-qí^{mes}* ¹⁸*i-li-im-d[u]-um-ma ni-pu-uš-mi* ¹⁹*'ḫal-pa-pu-ša ni-id-din-mi* ²⁰*ù 'ḫa-na-te 'ḫal-pa-pu-ša* ²¹*ša ki-i mārat [a]r-ra-áb-ḫi i-p[u]-ša-aš-ši* ²²*a-na amti^{ti} la ú-ta-ar-ši* ²³*šum-ma 'ḫal-pa-pu-ša pa-qí-ra-na*

²⁴[i]-ra-aš-ši ^mšúk-ra-pu ²⁵ù ¹hi-ia-ri-el-li ú-za-ka₄-ma ²⁶a-na ¹[ha]-na-te i-na-an-din ²⁷šum-ma ^mšúk-ra-pu (Rev.) ²⁸ù ¹hi-ia-ri-el-li ²⁹ibalkatu^{lum} ù i-na arki^{ki} ³⁰ša ¹ha-na-te aš-šum ¹hal-pa-pu-[ša] ³¹i-ša-as-sú ù ²amāti^{mes} ³²lu-ul-lu-a-i-tum a-na ¹ha-na-te ³³ú-ma-al-lu

³⁴maḥar ur-ḫi-ia mār šilli-a-bi-ḫi ³⁵maḥar ḫi-il-bi-šu-uḫ mār šu-ḫu-zi-ir-ra ³⁶maḥar ḫa-ma-an-na ^{L4}šangū ³⁷maḥar ut-ḫáp-še-ni ^{L6}Mušen.Dù ³⁸maḥar a-ka-p-še-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia ³⁹maḥar ḫa-ši-ip-til-la mār ar-te-ia ⁴⁰maḥar ú-uš-še mār ḫa-ši-ig-gi-mar ⁴¹maḥar na-i-gi-mar mār a-ri-ma-at-qa ⁴²maḥar ak-ku-li-en-ni mār it-ḫa-pu ⁴³maḥar ḫa-bil-damqu^{q4} ^{L4}Nu.Giš.Šar ⁴⁴maḥar šu-mu-li-ia ^{L6}Sa (aškāpu) ⁴⁵maḥar ip-šá-a-a ša ^{Uru}an-zu-gal-lim ⁴⁶maḥar ur-ḫi-ia mār ki-li-ia tupšarru

⁴⁷kunuk ^ma-ka-p-še-ni mār ḫa-ni-ku-ia ⁴⁸kunuk ^mut-ḫáp-še-ni ^{L6}Mušen.Dù ⁴⁹kunuk ^mḫa-ma-an-na ^{L4}šangū (Edge) ⁵⁰kunuk ^mḫa-ši-ip-til-la ⁵¹kunuk ^mur-ḫi-ia tup-šar-rum

43 (SMN 2024)

¹ha-na-te amat ša ¹túl-p[u-un-na]-a-a ²it-ti ¹hi-a-ri-el-li [ù] šúk-ra-pu ³i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni daiān^{mes} ⁴aš-šum ¹hal-pa-pu-ša ⁵i-te-lu-ma ki-i-me-e ⁶hi-ia-ri-el-li ù ^mšúk-ra-pu ⁷hal-pa-pu-ša a-na ma-ar-tù-ti ⁸a-na ¹ha-na-te it-ta-ad-nu ⁹ù daiān^{mes} ²šu ma-an-za-ad-du-uḫ-la ¹⁰iš-ta-pár-šu-nu-ti ^mqa-ri mār a-ka[p-še]-en-ni ¹¹ḫa-na-du mār ku-ut-ta-an-ni ¹²ši-mi-qa-ri mār ni-ir-bi-ia ¹³g awlāti^{mes} ma-an-za-ad-du-uḫ-li-e ¹⁴ša ¹ha-na-te ù ¹hi-a-ri-el-li ¹⁵ú-ul i-ma-an-gur a-na a-la-ki

¹⁶i-na di-ni ¹ha-na-te ¹⁷il-te-e-ma ù daiān^{mes} ¹⁸hal-pa-pu-ša a-na ¹⁹ha-na-te it-ta-ad-nu

(Rev.) ²⁰kunuk ^mmu-uš-te-ia ²¹kunuk ^mda-an-te-a ²²kunuk ^ma-ri-ba-pu ²³kunuk ^mma-li-ia ²⁴kunuk ^mpa-a-a (Edge) ²⁵qāt ^mamurri-ia tupšarru mār ^dšamaš-iddina (^dUtu-Ma.An.Sum)

44 (SMN 2043)

¹tup-pi ri-ik-si ša ²ha-na-te-e aš-šum ¹hal-pá-pu-ša ³ri-ik-sà ir-ku-sú-ú ⁴ù ¹ha-na-te-e mārta (sic) ⁵hal-pá-pu-ša a-na aššāti^{ti} ⁶a-na ^mir-wi-ḫu-ta warad ša ⁷túl-pu-un-na-a-a i-din

⁸maḥar ili-imitti mār ta-qa-ti ⁹maḥar ar-bi-ḫé mār tāb-ar-ra-ap-ḫi ¹⁰maḥar en-na-ma-ti mār ku-uš-ḫar-be (sic) ¹¹maḥar iddin (Sè) - ^dna-na-a mār šul-lu-me-ia ¹²maḥar ga-i-te-šup mār tāb-ar-ra-ap-ḫi ¹³maḥar da-a-a mār ta-ri-bu ¹⁴maḥar dup-ki-ia mār mi-na-šúk ¹⁵maḥar dup-ki-ia mār gi-li-ip-šarri ¹⁶maḥar mu-šu-ia mār el-ḫi-ip-šarri ¹⁷maḥar šu-in-tap-ši-ni mār Ki.Min-ma ¹⁸maḥar a-ri-ik-ki-ia mār na-a-a ¹⁹maḥar kip-gi-mar mār a-qa-wi-ia ²⁰maḥar ^dsin-i-qi-ša

tupšarri ²¹maḥar en-šuk-rum mār zi-ki-iš-tar ²²maḥar še-ḫa-la mār ar-ša-an-ta
 (Rev.) ²³aban milu-imitti ²⁴aban mar-bi-ḫé ²⁵aban men-na-ma-ti ²⁶aban middin-
 na-na-a-a ²⁷aban m^mmu-šu-ia ²⁸aban m^ddup-ki-ia ²⁹aban men-šuk-rum ³⁰aban ma-ri-
 ik-ki-ia ³¹aban ḫa-na-te-e (Edge) ³²aban m^{ki}i-in-tap-ši-ni ³³aban m^dsin-i-qí-ša
 tupšarri

45 (SMN 2682)

¹tup-pí ta-am-qù-ur-ti ²ša 'a-wi-iš-na-a-a aššat^a ³mar-zi-iz-za ⁴ù ša m^{še}še-eš-
 wa-a-a mār ar-zi-iz-za ⁴it-ti ⁵ma-ri-be-en-ni wardi ša 'túl-pu-na-a-a ⁶i-na be-ri-
 šu-nu it-ta-am-qa-ru ⁶⁷Udu^{bi.a} ^{mes}1 imēra Sal it-ti mu-ri-šu-ma Sal ⁷⁴⁰Ma. Na
 erā^{mes} an-nu-tum ⁸mar-zi-iz-za ⁹i-na bit 'túl-pu-na-a-a uš-te-ši ¹⁰ù a-na m^mmuš-te-
 šup mār šarri iddin ù ra-ma-aš-[u] ¹⁰i-na bit m^mmuš-te-[šup] . . . (the second
 half of the Obv. and the first half of the Rev. are lost)

(Rev.) ¹¹maḥar ul-mi-iš-še-ni mār ḫu- . . . ¹²maḥar ḫur-bi-še-ni mār ḫa-na-a-a
¹³maḥar a-kip-še-ni mār a-ar-zi ¹⁴maḥar še-eḫ-li-te-šup mār ḫu-ti-ia ¹⁵maḥar
 šer-ši-ia tup-šar-rum

¹⁶kunuk ma-kap-še-ni ¹⁷kunuk m^{še}še-eḫ-li-te-šup ¹⁸kunuk m^{gi}lip-šarri ¹⁹kunuk
 mi-it-ta-ra ²⁰kunuk mar-bi-ḫi (Left Edge) ²¹kunuk . . . ²²kunuk . . .

46 (SMN 538)

¹dadad dištar (U) ni-nu-a-wa ²dⁿergal ³dištar ḫu-me-el-la ⁴ilāni^{mes} an-
 nu-tum ⁵ša Uru^{hi}-il-ma-ni ⁶Ni^{mes}-šu ša šatti^{ti} ⁷uš-tu arḫi ḫi-a-ri ⁸mur-ḫi-ia
 (erasure) ⁹Lúšangū [Ni]^{mes} il-qí (Rev.) ¹⁰a-du-ú i-na ¹¹arḫi ḫi-a-ri

¹²aban mur-ḫi-ia Lúšangū

47 (SMN 491)

¹d^{ku}ur-wi-e ^dku-mu-ur-wa ²[d]ištar (U) ni-nu-a-wa ³a-ḫu-la-e ⁴[4 ilāni]ⁿⁱ me
 ša Uru^a-zu-ḫi-in-ni ⁵ù mir-mu-šá Ni^{mes} ša il-qú-ú

⁶dⁿergal dištar ḫu-me-el-la ⁶dištar ak-ku-ba-wa-ni-wa ⁷di-ir-wa ⁸Utu ⁹5 ilu
 (sic) ù ⁹m^{gi}lip-šarri ša Uru^a-zu-ḫi-in-ni ¹⁰Ni^{mes} il-qú-ú

¹⁰a-zu-i-ḫé ^dza-ar-wa-an ¹¹sa-ri-i-e ^ddup-ki-il-ḫé ¹²dⁿergal dištar ḫu-me-
 el-la ¹³ilāni^{mes} ù ¹⁴m^{pu}i-ta-e ¹⁵ša Uru^a-ga-ás Ni^{mes} ¹⁶ša il-qú-ú

¹⁶sa-ri-i-e ¹⁷ù m^{zi}gi-šá Uru ¹⁸a-ga-ás Ni^{mes} il-qú-ú

¹⁹d^{Im} ù [dištar ni-nu-a]-wa ²⁰dⁿer[gal] (Rev.) ²¹dištar ḫ[u-me-el-la] ²²4
 ilāni^{mes} [ù] m^{it}ḫi-za-ar-wa ²³ša Uru^{til}-la Ni^{mes} ²⁴ša il-qú-ú

^a Ennamati and Ilu-imitti have the same seal, bearing the inscription: ri-me-ni/
 dadad.

^a Nè.Iri.Gal.

²⁵Im ù dīstar ni-nu-a-wa ²⁶dnergal ù dīstar ²⁷hu-me-el-la ²⁸ilānimeš ša
 Uruhi-il-ma-ni ²⁹ù mta-mi-ia ³⁰Léšangū Nimeš il-qú-ú ³¹an-nu-tum ilānimeš i-na
 arhibi ³²hi-ia-ri Nimeš il-qú-ú
³³aban mir-mu-ša ³⁴aban mgi-lp-šarri ³⁵aban mpu-i-ta-e (Edge) ³⁶aban mit-hi-
 za-ar-wa

48 (SMN 690)

¹dgur-wi-e dku-mu-ur-wa ²dīstar ni-nu-a-wa ³hu-la-e ⁴ilānimeš an-nu-tum
 ša Urua-zu-hi-in-ni ⁵Nimeš-šu-nu ša ⁶ilānimeš an-nu-ti ša šatti ⁷ù mpa-i-te-šup
 Léšangū iš-tu arhibi ⁸gi-nu-ni ša Uru-nu-zi il-qí ù a-bi-il
⁹dnergal dīstar hu-mi-el-la ¹⁰ša Urua-zu-hi-in-ni Nimeš-šu-nu ša šatti ¹¹mgi-lp-
 šarri Léšangū il-qí ù a-bi-il
¹²ak-ku-pa-e Ni-šu mše-hal-te-šup ¹³ša šatti il-qí
¹⁴ša-ri-ú Ni-šu mta-na-ni ¹⁵ša šatti il-qí
¹⁶dup-ki-il-hé dnergal dīstar hu-me-el-la ¹⁷Nimeš-šu-nu ša šatti māš-tar-te-
 šup ¹⁸[i]l-qí 3 ilānimeš an-nu-tum ¹⁹ša Urua-qa-áš
²⁰a-zu-[i-hé] ²¹za-ar-wa-an ²²ša-ri-[i-e] dīstar ir-wi-in ²³Utu 5 [il-
 āni]meš an-nu-tum ²⁴[ša] Urua-[zu-hi-i]n-ni ²⁵[Nimeš]-šu-nu [mta-na](?)²⁶-e
²⁷il-qí
 (Rev.) ²⁸naphar 15 [ilānimeš] an-nu-tum ²⁹[š]a ina zi....-an-te ³⁰.....
 [Ni]meš ³¹[ša šatti] ³²uš-tu [arhibi] [g]i-n[u]-ni ³³ša Uru-nu-zi il-te-qú-[ú]
³⁴ù-a-bi-il a-du-[ú] arhibi ³⁵gi-na gi-nu-ni ša Uru-nu-zi ³⁶Im ù dīstar ni-nu-a-wa
³⁷dnergal ³⁸dīstar hu-me-el-la ³⁹ilānimeš ⁴⁰ša Uru-til-la It(u)-hi-iz-za-ar-wa
⁴¹ù mnu-ša-a-pu Nimeš i-na ⁴²šanāti-meš-šu-nu il-qú-ú
⁴³aban mše-hal-te-šup ⁴⁴aban mih-li-ia ⁴⁵aban mpa-i-te-šup šangū ⁴⁶aban mit-
 hi-za-ar-wa (Left Edge) ⁴⁷aban mta-na-e ⁴⁸aban māš-tar-[te-šup]

49 (SMN 799)

¹uš-bi Nimeš t̃aba ²uš-bi Ni el-lu ³a-na dtil-la ⁴uš-bi Nimeš t̃aba ⁵uš-bi
 Ni el-lu ⁶a-na dīstar [b]e-la-at du-ri ⁷uš-bi Ni t̃aba ⁸uš-bi Ni el-lu ⁹a-na
 dīstar pu-la-ah-hé ¹⁰uš-bi Ni t̃aba ¹¹uš-bi Ni el-lu ¹²a-na dIm (Rev.) ¹³uš-bi
 Ni t̃aba ¹⁴uš-bi Ni el-lu ¹⁵a-na dīstar ni-nu-a-wa ¹⁶uš-bi Ni t̃aba ¹⁷uš-bi
 Ni el-lu ¹⁸a-na bēl ú-lam-me ¹⁹uš-bi Ni t̃aba ²⁰uš-bi Ni el-lu ²¹a-na aš-šá-az-zu
²²uš-bi Ni t̃aba ²³uš-bi Ni el-lu ²⁴a-na dnergal (Iri.Nē.Gal) (sic) ²⁵uš-bi
 Ni t̃aba ²⁶uš-bi Ni el-lu ²⁷a-na dīstar hu-me-el-la ²⁸uš-bi Ni t̃aba ²⁹uš-bi Ni
 (sic) ³⁰a-na dxi-i-Bit-e ³¹uš-bi Ni t̃aba ³²uš-bi Ni (sic) ³³a-na aš-šá-az-zu
 (Left Edge) ³⁴uš-bi Ni t̃aba ³⁵uš-bi Ni el-lu ³⁶a-na dīstar al-la-i-wa-aš-wa ³⁷uš-bi
 Ni el-lu i-na ekallim ³⁸an-nu-tum Nimeš ša Uru-ú-lam-me

50 (SMN 2153 + 2154)

(Top destroyed) ¹.... a-na ^dištar ni-nu-a-wa ².... a-na ^dza-ri-[i]-e ³.... [el]-lu ⁴.... řābu ⁵.... a-na ^dištar řu-me-el-la ⁶.... el-lu ⁷.... el-lu (Several lines destroyed) ⁸.... ^dti-ir-wa ⁹[. uš-bi] Ni el-lu a-na ^dsa-ri-e ¹⁰g [ilānimeš řabūti an-ni]-i i-na uš-bi řābi(?) Ki. Min ¹¹naphar .. [ilānimeš an]-ni-i řa Uru-a-zu-ři-in-ni ¹²7 a.ta.an Nipⁱ i-na řatti^{ti} Ki. Min ¹³1 uš-bi Ni řābu 1 uš-bi Ni el-lu ¹⁴a-na ^dištar dup-ki-il-ke 1 uš-bi Ni řābu ¹⁵1 uš-bi Ni el-lu a-na ^dsa-ri-e ¹⁶1 uš-bi Ni řābu 1 uš-bi Ni el-lu ¹⁷a-na ^dnergal 1 uš-bi Ni řābu ¹⁸1 uš-bi Ni el-lu a-na ^dištar řu-me-el-la ¹⁹4 ilānimeš řabūti an-ni-i řa Uru-a-qa-āš ²⁰4(?) a.ta.an Nimeš ina řatti^{ti} Ki. Min ²¹1 uš-bi Ni řābi 1 uš-bi Ni el-lu a-na ^dadad ²²1 uš-bi Ni řābu 1 uš-bi Ni el-lu a-na ^dištar ni-nu-a-wa ²³1 uš-bi Ni řābu 1 uš-bi Ni el-lu ²⁴a-na ^dnergal 1 uš-bi Ni řābu ²⁵1 uš-bi Ni el-lu a-na ^dištar řu-me-el-la ²⁶ša Uru-til-la 4 a.ta.an Nipⁱ ²⁷i-na uš-bi [řābi] Ki. Min ²⁸1 uš-bi Ni řābu 1 uš-bi Ni el-lu ²⁹a-na ^dnergal 1 uš-bi ³⁰[Ni řābu] 1 uš-bi Ni el-lu ³¹[a]-na ^d[ištar řu]-me-el-la ³²[ř] ilānimeš řa Uru[e]-zi-ra ³³[i-na u]š-bi řābi 4 a.ta.an Nipⁱ i-na řatti^{ti} Ki. Min ³⁴[1 uš]-bi Ni řābu 1 uš-bi Ni el-lu a-na ^dadad ³⁵1 uš-bi Ni řābu 1 uš-bi Ni [el-lu] ³⁶a-na ^dištar ni-nu-a-wa 1 uš-bi Ni [řābu] ³⁷1 uš-bi Ni el-lu a-na ^dnergal ³⁸1 uš-bi Ni řābu 1 uš-bi Ni el-lu ³⁹a-na ^dištar řu-me-el-la 4 ilānimeš an-ni-i ⁴⁰ša Uru-ři-il-ma-ni [4(?) a.ta.an] Nimeš ⁴¹i-na uš-bi řābi i-na [řatti^{ti}] Ki. Min (Rest destroyed)

51 (SMN 553)

¹ša-du-du an-nu-ú ²ša awēlāti^{meš} warad ekallim^{lim} ³ù řa [ni]-iš biiti řa ekallim^{lim} ⁴la-be-ru-[um]-ma ⁵um-ma [řarru]-ma ma-am-ma ⁶L^uwarad ekallim^{lim} ⁷ù ⁸ni-iš biiti řa ekallim^{lim} ⁹mārat-zu a-na e-ku-ti ¹⁰ù a-na řa-ri-mu-ti ¹¹bá-lu řarri la ú-ša-al-la-ak ¹²ma-an-nu-um-me-[e] ¹³L^uwarad ekallim^{lim} ¹⁴mārat-zu a-na e-[ku]-ti ¹⁵ù a-na řa-ri-mu-ti ¹⁶bá-lu řarri uš-te-li-[i]k-šu ¹⁷mārat-zu a-na e-ku-ti ¹⁸ù a-na řa-ri-mu-ti ¹⁹i-ki³ša-aš-še a-na ekallim^{lim} ²⁰i-liq-qú-ú ²¹ù mārat-zu ²²ša-nu-ú a-na li-iq-ti ²³a-na ekallim^{lim} ki-i-ma ²⁴i-liq-qú-ú ²⁵ù ²⁶i-liq-qú-ú ²⁷ù (Rev.) ²⁸šu-ú ka-az-za-Ur-na ²⁹iš-tu muh^{hi}bi-šu ³⁰i-p-pu-ša-aš-šu ³¹ù tup-pu an-nu-ú ³²i-na ř šanāti^{meš} ³³ù i-na ³⁴š šanāti^{meš} a-na pa-ni-šu-nu ³⁵i-ša-as-sú-ú ³⁶a-na la ma-š[e]-e

³⁷aban m^hš-el-ti-ba-pu ³⁸aban m^qar-ti-be-ir-wi

52 (SMN 7)

¹um-ma m^ha-ni-zu-ma ²warad řa ³ú-uz-na ⁴řa-ři-il-lu mār-ti-ia ⁵a-na ma-ar-ti a-na ⁶ú-uz-na aššati řa ⁷en-na-ma-ti ⁸it-ta-din ⁹ù ¹⁰ú-uz-na ¹¹im-er 1 (pi) 10 (qa) řeu 1 Tūg ki-ma ¹²kaspi řa ¹³řa-ři-il-lu ¹⁴a-na m^ha-ni-zu iddinu^{nu} ¹⁵šum-ma

* The text has Lu.

¹ha-ši-il-lu ¹¹pá-qi-ra-na irtaš¹² ¹²m̃ha-ni-zu ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma ¹³a-na ¹⁴ú-uz-na i-na-an-din ¹⁴ú ¹⁵ú-uz-na ¹⁶ha-ši-il-lu ¹⁶a-na amtúti¹⁷ la ippuš¹⁸ ¹⁷šum-ma ¹⁸ha-ši-il-lu ¹⁸bi-ra-an-ku-um-ma ippuš¹⁹ ¹⁹m̃ha-ni-zu ²⁰ha-ši-il-lu ²⁰ú-ba-aḥ-ḥa-ma ²¹ú-ba-la-ma a-na ²²ú-uz-na i-na-an-din (Rev.) ²³šum-ma ²⁴m̃ha-ni-zu ²⁴ha-ši-il-lu ²⁵la ú-za-ak-[k]₄ a₄ ù la ú-ba-aḥ-ḥé ²⁶a-na ²⁷ú-uz-na la i-na-an-din ²⁷ú ²⁸ú-uz-na ²⁹enē^{mes} šu ša ³⁰m̃ha-ni-zu ³¹ú-na-ap-pa-lu

³⁰aban ³¹m̃ha-ni-zu ³²aban ³³ú-uz-na ³⁴aban ³⁵m̃ha-ši-ip-til-la mār hu-ia (Edgo) ³⁶aban ³⁷du-ra-ar-te-šup ³⁸tupšarri mār i-it-ḥa-bi-ḥé

53 (SMN 411)

¹um-ma awēlūt^{mes} ²ša ³U^{ru}an-zu-gal-lim ⁴na-na-a-a-um-mi ⁵ki-i-me-e ⁶mārat ḥa-na-a-a ù ⁷ni-nu ni-te-mi ù ⁸arka(t)-zu ù wa-la-az-zu ⁹la ni-te-ma ¹⁰aban ¹¹pu-i-ta-e (Rev. and Edges uninscribed)

54 (SMN 1009)

¹lišān-šu ša ²ku-ni-a-šu ³mārat hu-ut-te-šup a-na pa-ni ⁴ši-bu-ti an-nu-tum ⁵ki-na-an-na iq-ta-bi ⁶i-na pa-na-ni-im-ma ⁷ma-ga-am-mu-u[š]-ni ⁸a-na aš-šu-ti iddin ù ⁹40 Su^{mes} kaspi-ia ¹⁰a-šar mu-ti-ia il-te-qú-ú ¹¹ù i-na-an-na ¹²ma-ga-am-mu-uš-ni ¹³ù mu-ti-ia im-tù-ut-mi ¹⁴ù i-na-an-na a-na-ku ¹⁵ma-ki-ia mār hu-ut-te-šub a-ḥa-ti-ia ¹⁶i-na sú-qi is-ḡa-bat-mi ¹⁷a-na a-ḥa-du-ti a-na ia-ši ¹⁸i-te-pu-uš-mi ¹⁹a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-an-din ²⁰10 Su kaspi^{mes} šu-ra-am-ba-aš-ḥi-šu ²¹a-šar ²²mu-ti-ia ²³i-li-qi ²⁴ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na ²⁵be-ri-šu-nu ibalkatu¹⁶ (Rev.) ²⁶1 Ma.Na ḥurāša umallā ²⁷tup-pi i-na bá-ab a-bu-ul-li rabi ²⁸ša ²⁹U^{ru}nu-zi ša-ṭi-ir ³⁰qāt ³¹te-šup-[ni]-ra-ri mār ki-el-ni-ia

³²aban ³³ku-ni-a-šu ³⁴aban u-na-ap-te-šup mār hu-ti-ir-wa ³⁵aban pu-ḥi-še-en-ni mār ḥa-i-ip-šarri ³⁶aban . . . -a-²ištar (Edgo) ³⁷aban a-ri-lu mār ú-na-ap-te(?) -šup(?) ³⁸aban tupšarri

55 (SMN 768)

¹[tup]-pi ri-ik-si ša ²m̃zi-li-ik-ku-šu ³[mār m̃]a-ḥu-ia ù ša ⁴m̃šúk-ri-te-šup mār dur-še-en-ni ⁵[i-n]a be-ri-šu-nu ri-ik-si ir-ku-sú ⁶ù ⁷m̃šúk-ri-te-šup a-ḥa-az-zu ⁸ha-lu-ia a-na aššuti¹⁷ a-na ⁹m̃zi-li-ik-ku-šu ittadin¹⁸ ¹⁰ù ¹¹m̃zi-li-ik-ku-šu ¹²30 Su kaspa^{mes} ḥa-ša-ḥu-še-en-nu ¹³[a]-na ¹⁴m̃šúk-ri-te-šup i-na-an-din ù ¹⁵[m̃š]úk-ri-te-šup ¹⁶še-ḥa-li-tum mārat ḥa-lu-ia ¹⁷a-na a[š]-šu-ti a-na ¹⁸mag-ga-ta mār zi-li-ik-ku-šu ¹⁹10[i-t]a-[din ù ²⁰m̃z]i-li-ik-ku-šu ²¹20 Su ka[spa^{mes} ḥa-ša-ḥu]-še-en-nu ²²a-na ²³m̃šúk-[ri-te-šup] i-na-an-din ²⁴ù ²⁵20 Su [kaspa^{mes} r]i-iḥ-tum ša ²⁶še-ḥa-li-tum ²⁷a-na qa-an-[ni-ša]-ma ra-[ki]-is ù ²⁸a-na ²⁹še-ḥ[a-li]-tum-ma un-te-eš-ši-ir ³⁰lišān-šu ša ³¹ha-lu-ia a-na pa-ni awēlūt^{mes} ³²ši-bu-ti ³³ki-a-am i[q-t]a-bi

ra-ma-an-ni-ma ¹⁶a-na aš-šu-ti [a-na] ^mzi-li-ik-ku-šu ¹⁹i-din^{mes}-an-[ni-m]i' ù
 mārti-ia ²⁰am-ša-r[i-e]l-ti a-na aš-šu-ti ²¹a-na ^mšúk-ri-te-šup mār zi-li-ik-ku-šu
²²at-ta-din šum-ma ¹ha-lu-ia ù ²³šum-ma ¹še-ha-li-tum pa-qi-ra-na iraššū^{mes} tu-ú
²⁴ù ^mšúk-ri-te-šup ú-za-ak-ka₄-šu-nu-ti ²⁵a-na ^mzi-li-ik-ku-šu i-na-an-din-šu-nu-
 ti ²⁶šum-ma ¹am-ša-ri-el-ti pa-qi-ra-na iraššū^{mes} ti ²⁷ù ¹ha-lu-ia ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma
²⁸a-na ^mzi-li-ik-ku-šu i-na-an-din ²⁹ù ^mzi-li-ik-ku-šu aššata^{ta} ³⁰ša-ni-ta [i-n]a
 muh^hh^hbi ¹ha-lu-ia ³¹la i-i^h-ha-az ù (Rev.) ³²m^{zi}-li-ik-ku-šu 50 S[u kas]pa^{mes} ³³an-
 nu-tum ša ka-bu-ú ^h[a-ša]-hu-še-en-nu ³⁴ša ¹ha-lu-ia ù ša ¹[še]-ha-li-tum ³⁵a-na
 5^{ta} a^{an} Su kas[pa]^{mes} ^ha-šá-hu-še-en-nu ³⁶i-na [šatti]^{ti} ù šatti^{ti} ³⁷a-na ^m[šúk-
 r]i-te-šup i-n[a-a]n-din ³⁷a-di [ú]-ga₂-[am-mi-r]u ³⁸šum-ma ¹[ha]-lu-ia-ma
¹qa-an-zu-uš-šal-li ³⁹mārti-ia a-na ^mzi-li-ik-ku-šu-ma ⁴⁰a[t]-ta-la-az-zu-mi ù
 i-na-an-na ⁴¹qa-an-zu-uš-šal-li a-na mārtūti^{mes} ti ⁴²a-na ^mzi-li-ik-ku-šu-ma at-ta-
 din-mi ⁴³ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na be-ri-šu-nu ⁴⁴ša [ib]al[ka]^{tkat} i-na a-wa-ti ša
 id-bu-bu ⁴⁵... [Ma.Na hur]āga ú-ma-al-la ⁴⁶[tup-pu ina ar]ki^{ti}šu-du-ti
⁴⁷[i-na bāb ab]ulli ša zi-iz-za-e ⁴⁸[ina Urⁿ...] (?) šá-te₄-ir
⁴⁹[maḥar na-ni-i]p-ša[rri] m[ār] [a]r-taš-še (?) ⁵⁰[maḥar]-at mār
 zi-li-ia ⁵¹[maḥar] ... mār ^dištar(?) mār na-ni-ia ⁵²[maḥar] a-ri-i^h-ha-a-a
 mār šu-ru-uq-qa-a-a ⁵³maḥar [ta-a]-a-ni mār zi-gi ^Lma-sar abulli ⁵⁴[maḥar
 še]-en-na-a-a mār še-el-wa-na-ri ⁵⁵[maḥar] [du-ra-ar]-te-šup tup-šar-rum
⁵⁶[aban m]...-til-la ⁵⁷aban ^mna-ni-ip-šarri ⁵⁸[aban m]še-en-na-a-a (Edge)
⁵⁹[aban ^ma-ri-i^h-ha]-a-a ⁶⁰aban tup-šar-rum ⁶¹aban ^m[ta-a]-a-ni ^Lma-sar abulli

56 (SMN 2134)

¹mtar-mi-ia mār hu-ia i[t-ti] ²mšúk-ri-ia ù it-ti ³mku-la-hu-bi it-ti 2 ah[ⁱmes-
 šu] ⁴mārū^{mes} hu-ia-ma aš-šum amti ¹[zu-lu-li-iš-tar] ⁵i-na di-ni a-na pa-ni
 daiāni^{mes} ⁶ša Urⁿu-xi i-te-lu-ma ù ⁷mtar-mi-ia ki-a-am a-na pa-ni daiāni^{mes}
⁸ig-ta-bi a-bu-ia ^mhu-ia ⁹ma-ru-uš-mi ù i-na ^Gerši ¹⁰na-al ù qa-ti a-bu-ia ¹¹za-
 ab-tu₄ ù ki-na-an-na a-na ia-ši ¹²ig-ta-bi al-lu-tum mārū^{mes}ia rabūti^{mes} ¹³aš-
 ša-ta i-ta-a^h-zu-ú-mi ù at-tá ¹⁴aš-ša-ta la ta-a^h-hu-uz-mi ¹⁵ù ¹zu-lu-li-iš-tar
 ki-ma ¹⁶aš-ša-ti-ka₄ ak-ka₄-ša at-ta-na-ak-ku ¹⁷ù daiānū^{mes} awēlūti^{mes} ši-bu-ta
¹⁸[ša m]tar-mi-ia i-ri-iš... ¹⁹[ù ^mtar-mi-ia] awēlūti^{mes} ši-bu-ti-šu ²⁰[a-na pa-ni
 daiāni^{mes}] uš-te-e-li ²¹[m.... mār] hu-ur-šu-a-a ²²[m.... mār] ik-ki-ia ²³[m
 mār] it-ru-ú-ša ²⁴[m....] mār ha-ma-an-na ²⁵[an-nu-tum ši]-bu-tum ša
 (Rev.) ²⁶[mtar-mi-i]a a-na pa-ni daiāni^{mes} ²⁷[i]n-ta-a-nu-ú ù daiānū^{mes} ²⁸a-na
^mšúk-ri-ia ù a-na ²⁹mku-la-hu-bi ig-ta-bu-ú ³⁰a-li-ik-ma-mi awēlūti^{mes} ši-bu-tum
³¹ša ^mtar-mi-ia ilāni^{mes} li-iš-ši-šu-nu-mi ³²a-sar ilāni^{mes} mšúk-ri-ia ù ³³mku-la-
 hu-b[i i]d-t[u-ru] ù i-na ³⁴di-ni ^mtar-[mi-ia] ³⁵il-te-ú [ù daiā]nū^{mes} ³⁶amta
¹zu-[lu-li-iš]-tar a-na ³⁷mtar-mi-ia [id-di-nu]-ú
³⁸aban ^m..... ³⁹aban ^mša(?).... ⁴⁰aban ^mhu-ia (Edge) ⁴¹qāt ^mili-ia

57 (SMN 2048)

¹līšān-šu ša 'aš-t[a] ... ²mārat mki-iš-t[a](?) ... ³a-na pa-ni šibūti^{meš} ti.
š[ū](?) ⁴ki-a-am iq-ta-a-bi ⁵ra-ma-n[i-im]-ma a-na ⁶aššuti^{ki} a-na mbe-el-ta-ri
⁷iđ-di-na-an-ni-mi ⁸a-wa-az-zu ra-ki-is ⁹ū lu ši-ti-i-ig ¹⁰ū awēlūti^{meš} an-nu-tum
ša ri-ik-si

¹¹maḥar ḥa-ši-ip-ti-l-la mār šūk-ri-ia ¹²maḥar qar-ti-be-ir-wa mār a-kap-še-ni
¹³maḥar a-ri-ig-gi-ir-ḥé ¹⁴mār a-ki-p-šarri ¹⁵maḥar šūk-ri-ia ¹⁶mār ki-bi-iš-šu-
uḥ-ri ¹⁷maḥar ar-te-ia ¹⁸mār šu-ur-pa-a-a (Rev.) ¹⁹maḥar pu-ḥi-še-en-ni ²⁰mār
ḥa-ma-an-na ²¹maḥar še-en-na-a-a ²²mār te-eš-šu-ia ²³maḥar ut-ḥáp-ta-e ²⁴mār
ma-li-ia ²⁵gāt mū-ta-an-gal ²⁶tup-šar-rum ²⁷maḥar ak-ku-li-en-ni ²⁸mār iš-ma-
dad ²⁹maḥar wu-un-nu-ki-ia ³⁰mār ki-iš-ku-bi

³¹aban mpu-ḥi-še-ni ³²aban mḡar-ti-be-ir-wa ³³aban mḡa-ši-ip-ti-l-la ³⁴aban
mše-en-na-a-a (Edw) ³⁵aban mšūk-ri-ia ³⁶aban mar-[te-ia] ³⁷aban mwu-un-nu-
ki-[ia]

58 (SMN 2085)

¹tup-pi ma-ru-ti ša me-ḥé-el-te-šup ²mār ki-pa-a-a mut-ḥáp-ta-e ³mār ar-tu-ra
a-na ma-ru-ti i-te-pu-uš ⁴ki-ma zitti-šu iṣṣbi.^a meš i-na libbi^{bi} Urnu-zi i-na
gi-ir-ḥi ²⁵i-na am-ma-ti mu-ra-ak-šu-nu 1 + 9 i-na am-ma-ti ru-bu-uz-zu
⁷i-na su-ta-na-an iṣṣbi.^a meš ša mki-iš-zi-ri ⁸i-na il-ta-na-an iṣṣbi.^a meš ša mše-ḥa-
al-te-šup ⁹i-na šu-pa-al dūri^{ti} ū i-na ¹⁰e-li-en iṣṣbi.^a meš ša mše-ḥal-te-šup-ma
¹¹a-na mut-ḥáp-ta-e it-ta-din ū ¹²mut-ḥáp-ta-e 40 Ma. Na annaku^{meš} ¹³8 Udu^{bi}.^a
^{meš} ki-ma qišti-šu a-na me-ḥé-el-te-šup ¹⁴it-ta-din šum-ma iṣṣbi.^a meš pa-qí-ra-na
¹⁵ir-ta-šu-ú iṣṣbi.^a meš ša-a-šu-ma ū ¹⁶me-ḥé-el-te-šup ú-za-ak-ka-ma ¹⁷a-na
mut-ḥáp-ta-e i-na-an-din šum-ma ¹⁸iṣṣbi.^a meš mād la i-na-ak-ki-is šum-ma
¹⁹iṣṣmeš^{meš} šiḥir la ú-ra-at-ta il-ku ²⁰ša iṣṣbi.^a meš me-ḥé-el-te-šup na-ši ²¹ū mut-ḥáp-
ta-e la na-ši ū ²²mut-ḥáp-ta-e eglu pa-i-ḥu i-na libbi^{bi} Urnu-zi i-na gi-ir-ḥi
²³25 i-na am-ma-ti mu-ra-ak-šu ²⁴9 i-na am-ma-ti ru-bu-uz-zu ²⁵... me-ḥé-el-te-
šup mār ki-pa-a-a ²⁶[a-na](?) iṣṣbi.^a meš i-ip-pu-uš (written over erasure) ²⁷ū
... [iṣṣbi.^a meš] (erasure) ²⁸[ū] me-ḥé-el-te-šup (erasure) ²⁹[iṣṣbi.^a meš] ša-šú
ma-aš-lu ³⁰... [i]p-pu-uš a-du-ú (Rev) ³¹[iṣṣbi.^a meš] ša me-ḥé-el-te-šup ³²ū
mut-ḥáp-ta-e i-ip-pu-uš ³³me-ḥé-el-te-šup uš-tu iṣṣbi.^a meš ³⁴ša-[šu-nu] ra-
ma-ni-šu la ú-uš-ši ³⁵im-ma-ti-me-e eglu pa-i-ḥu ša-a-šu ³⁶ū mut-ḥáp-ta-e
ki-ma iṣṣbi.^a meš ³⁷ša me-ḥé-el-te-šup [i-ip-pu-šu] ³⁸šu-ur-ru-um-ma ³⁹me-ḥé-
el-te-šup ⁴⁰uš-tu iṣṣbi.^a meš šu ú-uš-ši ⁴¹iṣṣbi.^a meš ša-a-šu ša me-ḥé-el-te-šup ⁴²šu-
ur-ru-um-ma ū mut-ḥáp-ta-e ⁴³i-liq-qí ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na ⁴⁴be-ri-šu-nu
ibalkat^{kat} 1 Ma. Na kaspā ⁴⁵1 Ma. Na ḥurāša ú-ma-al-la ⁴⁶tup-pi i-na arki^{ki} šu-
du-ti ⁴⁷i-na Urnu-zi sa-ti-ir

^a 14 corrected to ir.

⁴⁸maḥar ak-ku-li-en-[ni mār ḥ]a-iš-te-šup ⁴⁹maḥar a-ú-du... [mār] ar-ši-mi-qa ⁵⁰maḥar ú-na-a-a [mār] ...-um(?)-ḥi ⁵¹maḥar ki-in-ni mār pu-i-ta-e ⁵²maḥar ar-ši-mi-qa mār nu-pa-na-ni ⁵³maḥar na-ni-pa-pu mār ša-ar-te-šup ⁵⁴maḥar ša-ri-iš-še mār ar-di(?)-ḥi(?) ⁵⁵maḥar a-ri-ip-šarri tup-šar-rum 7 awēlūtī^{mes} ⁵⁶ša iṣē^{mes} mu-šal-wu-ú ⁵⁷na-li-na-nu ⁵⁸ša kaspi^{mes} ⁵⁹aban ^m(sic) tupšarri ⁶⁰aban ^mú-na-a-a ⁶¹aban ^mna-ni-pa-pu ⁶²aban ^mki-in-ni (Edge) ⁶³aban ^m(sic) ⁶⁴aban ^ma-ú-du... ⁶⁵aban ^mpa-i-te-šup ⁶⁶aban ^mar-ši-mi-qa

59 (SMN 2099)

¹šum-ma min-ni-ku ù ^ma-[kap-še-en-ni] ²mārū-šu ša ^mši-mi-qa-ri ³ina arki eqlātī^{mes} ^{ti} ù bit[ati^{mes}] ⁴ša a-bi-šu-nu ^mši-mi-qa-ri ⁵ina arki ^mḥu-ia ina arki ⁶mārī-šu... ša ^mḥu-ia ⁷ina arki [mā]r mārī-šu i-ša-sú-ú ⁸10 Ma. Na kaspā 10 Ma. Na ḥurāša ú-ma-al-la ⁹šum-ma ^mḥu-ia ina arki [š]a ¹⁰men-ni-ku ù ina arki ^ma-kap-še-en-ni ¹¹i-ša-si-ma al-ka₄-ni-im-m[i] ¹²il-ka₄ ša bitī-šu [ù eqlātī^{mes}-šu]* ¹³na-ša-tù-mi ¹⁴10 Ma. Na kaspā 10 Ma. Na ḥurāša [umallā] ¹⁵ù min-ni-ku ù ^ma-ka[p-še-en-ni] ¹⁶tup-pā an-ni-ta il-tù-[ru] ¹⁷ù a-na ^mḥu-ia iddinū^{nu}

¹⁸maḥar ḥa-am-bi-zi mār ar-š[a-du-ia] ¹⁹maḥar a-kip-šarri mār e-gi-[gi] ²⁰maḥar ki-iš-te mār ku(?) ki?)-a[r](?)... ²¹maḥar ki-ba-al-zu-ki ²²mār ú-še-ri ²³[maḥar ḥ]a-ma-an-na mār šu-um-mi... ²⁴[maḥar ki-ba]-a-a mār ip-še-en-[ni](?) (Rev.) ²⁵[maḥar še-e]ḥ-li-ia mār ... ²⁶[maḥar ...]-la-ap... ²⁷[maḥar] en-[na-pa]-li(?) L[63]... ²⁸[maḥar] eḥ-li-pa-[pu] ... ²⁹maḥar qa-lu-mu mār ša... ³⁰maḥar ar-te-ia mār ... ³¹maḥar tar-mi-ia mār An... ³²maḥar ta-a-a mār it-ḥa...

³³kunuk ta-a-a ³⁴kunuk a-kip-šarri^{ti} ³⁵kunuk ḥa-ma-an-n[a] ³⁶kunuk še-eḥ-li-a ³⁷kunuk ḥa-am-bi-z[i] ³⁸kunuk ki-ba-a-a (Edge) ³⁹kunuk ^dAk.Ki-la (^dNabū-ila)

60 (SMN 365)

¹tuppi d[i]-te-en-na-[ti] ša ²mzi-li-ik-ku-šu [mār a]-ḥu-ia ³ù ra-a-ma-aš-šu a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti ⁴a-na 10 šanāti^{mes} ^{ti} i-na bitī^{ti} ⁵ša ¹ú-uz-na aššat^{at} ⁶ša ⁷men-na-ma-ti uš-te-ri-ib-uš ⁸ù ¹ú-uz-na 35 Ma. Na anāka^{mes} ⁹1 imēr šea ù 1 imēr ki-bá-tum ¹⁰a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti-ma a-na ¹¹mzi-lip-ku-šu-uh it-ta-din ¹²e-nu-ma 10 šanāti^{mes} i-na bitī^{ti} ¹³ša ¹ú-uz-na im-ta-lu-ú ¹⁴35 Ma. Na anāka^{mes} ¹⁵1 imēr šea ¹⁶ù 1 imēr ki-bá-tum kaspū^{mes} ¹⁷ša pī tup-pī ^mzi-lip-ku-šu-uh ¹⁸a-na ¹uz-na utāru^{ru} ¹⁹ù ra-ma-aš-šu i-na bitī^{ti} ²⁰ša ¹ú-uz-na ú-še-iš-sú ²¹šum-ma šiprē^{mes}-šu ša ¹ú-uz-na ²²1 u₄-mi ^mzi-lip-ku-šu-uh ²³e-zi-ib 1 Ma. Na erā^{mes} (Rev.) ²⁴ú-ri-ḥul ša i-na u₄-mi ù ²⁵u₄-mi ^mzi-lip-ku-šu-uh ²⁶a-na ¹ú-uz-na umallā ²⁷um-ma ^mzi-lip-ku-šu-uh ²⁸šum-ma a-na-ku la aš-pa-ku-mi ²⁹ù ¹ú-uz-na mārē^{mes} ù mārātī^{mes} ³⁰àššata^{ta}-ia i-ša-bat ù kaspā^{mes} ³¹ù ¹ú-ri-ḥul-šu a-na ¹ú-uz-na ³²umallū bitu^{bi} (sic) ša ^mzi-ik-

ku-šu-uh³⁰ a-na³⁰ m^{zi}-lip-ku-šu-uh ma-hi³¹ pu-ti³¹ lišān-šu ša m^{zi}-lip-ku-šu-uh a-na
 pa-ni³² awēlāti^{mes} ki-a-am iq-ta-bi ša pi³ tup-pi³² kaspā^{mes} ašar³ uz-na il-gi-mi
³⁴maḥar ḥa-ši-ip-til-la mār ḥu-ia šibi³⁵ maḥar ḥu-ti-ip-šarri mār te-eš-šu-ia
³⁶maḥar ma-li-ia mār ip-šá-ḥa-lu³⁷ maḥar šarru-³⁸sin mār ta-qa-ra-a-a³⁹ maḥar
 ḥu-ti-ši-mi-qa mār ḥa-ši-ip-til-la⁴⁰ maḥar qa-i-te-šup mār ḥu-ta-a-a⁴⁰ maḥar
 a-ri-pu-gur mār ú-na-a-a⁴¹ maḥar ip-šá-ḥa-a-lu mār ku-uz-za-ri
⁴²aban a-ri-pu-gur⁴³ aban m^{ḥa}-ši-ip-til-la⁴⁴ aban m^{tu}-ra-ar-te-šup^(Edbe) ⁴⁵aban
 m^{zi}-lip-ku-šu-uh⁴⁶ aban m^{ip}-ša-ḥa-lu⁴⁷ aban m^{ḥu}-ti-ip-šarri⁴⁸ a-bu-ul-ta-nu

61 (SMN 2082)

Case: el-ḥi-ip-ta-še-en-ni

¹tup-pi di-te-en-nu-ti² ša m^{ur}-ḥi-ia mār a-ki-til-la³ ú mār-šu m^{el}-ḥi-ip-ta-še-
 en-ni⁴ a-na di-te-en-nu-ti a-na⁵ 5 šanāti^{mes} a-na m^{ku}-la-ḥu-bi⁶ mār ar-te-e-a
 it-ta-din⁷ ú m^{ku}-la-ḥu-bi⁸ 40 Ma. Na anākā^{mes} ⁹10 Ma. Na siparra a-na di-te-en-
 nu-ti-im-ma⁹ a-na m^{ur}-ḥi-ia it-ta-din¹⁰ šum-ma m^{el}-ḥi-ip-ta-še-en-ni¹¹ pi-ir-ka⁴
 ir-ta-ši¹² ú m^{ur}-ḥi-ia ú-za-ak-ka-ma¹³ a-na m^{ku}-la-ḥu-bi i-na-an-din¹⁴ šum-ma
 m^{el}-ḥi-ip-ta-še-en-ni¹⁵ šipir-šu ša m^{ku}-la-ḥu-bi¹⁶ i-na 1 u⁴-mi i-iz-zi-ib¹⁷ 1 Ma.
 Na erā ú-ri-ḥul šá¹⁸ a-na u⁴-mi ú a-na u⁴-mi¹⁹ m^{ur}-ḥi-ia a-na m^{ku}-la-ḥu-bi²⁰
 ú-ma-al-la im-ma-ti-me-e²¹ 5 šanāti^{mes} m^{el}-ḥi-ip-ta-še-en-ni²² i-na bi^{ti} ša
 m^{ku}-la-ḥu-bi²³ im-ta-lu-ú²⁴ 40 Ma. Na anākā^{mes} (Rev.) ²⁴ú 10 Ma. Na siparra
²⁵m^{ur}-ḥi-ia a-na m^{ku}-la-ḥu-bi²⁶ ú-ta-ar ú mār-šu²⁷ iš-tu bi^{ti} ša m^{ku}-la-ḥu-bi²⁸
 ú-še-is-gú-ú ma-an-nu²⁹ ša ibalkat 1 alpa damqu^{ku} ³⁰ú-ma-al-la tup-pi i-na
 arki^{bi} ³¹šu-du-ti i-na libbi^{bi} Ur^{nu}-zi³² i-na bá-ab ekallim^{im} šá-ṭi-ir³³ šum-ma
 m^{el}-ḥi-ip-ta-še-en-ni³⁴ it-ta-bi-it ú i-ḥal-li-ig ú³⁵ m^{ur}-ḥi-ia ú-ma-al-la
³⁶maḥar ku-uš-ši-a mār šuk-ri-ia³⁷ maḥar a-ki-ia mār tu-ra-ri³⁸ maḥar wa-an-
 ti-iš-še-en-ni mār ki-pu-gur³⁹ maḥar ul-mi-til-la mār a-ki-ia⁴⁰ maḥar ut-ḥáp-
 ta-e⁴¹ mār Igi-a-bi⁴² maḥar ḥa-na-a-a mār ta-e⁴³ qāt m^{tar}-mi-te-šup tupšarri
 mār it-ti-šarri⁴⁴ maḥar ki-pa-[ur]-ḥé mār gi-ra-ar-te-šup
⁴⁵aban tupšarri⁴⁶ aban m^{ur}-ḥi-ia⁴⁷ aban m^{ku}-uš-ši-a⁴⁸ aban m^{ki}-ba-ur-ḥé
⁴⁹aban m^{ut}-ḥáp-ta-e^(Edbe) ⁵⁰aban m^a-ki-ia⁵¹ aban m^{ul}-mi-til-la⁵² aban m^{ḥa}-na-a-a
⁵³aban m^{wa}-an-ti-iš-še-ni

62 (SMN 2078)

¹tup-pi ti-te-en-nu-ti² ša m^a-kip-til-la mār ki-pa-ri-ia³ mār-šu m^{ki}-in-ia (sic)
⁴a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti a-na⁵ 5 šanāti^{mes} ti⁶ m^a-kip-til-la a-na m^{ur}-ḥi-ku-šu-uh⁶ mār
 šarri it-ta-din⁷ 8 imēr ku-ni-šu^{mes} 1 imēr 50 (sila) šeāti^{mes} ⁸m^{ur}-ḥi-ku-šu-uh⁹
 a-na⁹ m^a-kip-til-la it-ta-din¹⁰ e-nu-ma 5 šanāti^{mes} imtakū¹¹ 13 imēr ku-ni-šu^{mes}
 1 imēr 50 (sila) [šeāti^{mes} ¹²m^a-kip-til-la a-na m^{ur}-ḥi-[ku]-šu-uh¹³ ú-ta-ar
 mār-šu¹⁴ m^{ki}-in-ni-ia i-liq-q[?]¹⁵ sum-ma šipir-šu ša m^{ur}-ḥi-ku-[šu]-uh¹⁶ i-na

1 ūmi ^mki-in-ni-ia ¹⁷e-zi-ib 1 Ma. Na erā ¹⁸ú-ri-hul-lì a-na ūmi ¹⁹ù a-na ūmi
^ma-kip-til-la ²⁰a-na ^mur-^{hi}-ku-^{šu}-u^h ²¹ú-ma-al-la lišān-^{šu} (Rev.) ²²ša ^ma-kip-til-la
a-na pa-ni ²³awēlūti^{mes} ^šibūti^{mes} an-nu-ti ki-am ²⁴iq-ta-bi 3 imēr ku-ni-^{šu}^{mes} ²⁵1
imēr 50 (sila) ^{še}ati^{mes} a-šar ²⁶^mpu-^{hi}-še-en-ni mār mu-[ša]-pu ²⁷a-mu-mi-i^h-
^hu-ri ²⁸ša ^mur-^{hi}-ku-^{šu}-u^h ²⁹el-te-qì-mi ù ap-[la-k]u-mi

³⁰maḥar a-kip-šarri ³¹maḥar qa-a-na mārē^{mes} ^ha-bi-ra ³²maḥar še-^{hal}-te mār
a-ki-ia ³³maḥar qa-a-ni mār mu-... ³⁴maḥar ^hu-ra-az-zi mār ³⁵maḥar
el-^{hi}-ip-til-la tup-šar-rum ³⁶tup-pu ina abullī [ša-^{ti}-i]r

³⁷aban ^mqa-a-ni ³⁸aban ^ma-kip-šarri ³⁹aban ^ma-kip-til-la ⁴⁰aban ^mqa-a-na
(Edge) ⁴¹aban ^mh^u-ra-az-zi ⁴²aban ^mše-^{hal}-te ⁴³aban ^m(sic) tup-šar-rum

63 (SMN 2089)

¹tup-pi di-te-en-nu-ti [ša] ²^mšūk-ri-ia mār ri-[mu-šarri] ³mar-te-eš-še mār
^ha-na-a-a ⁴re-ma-an-^{šu} a-na di-te-en-nu-ti ⁵ki-mu-ú 1 wardi 3 i-na am-ma-ti
ša ^{māt} ^anu-ul-lu-i ⁶a-na 20 šanāti^{mes} i-na bitī ša ^mšūk-ri-ia ⁷i-te-ru-ub im-ma-
ti-me-e ⁸20 šanāti^{mes} mar-te-eš-še i-na ⁹bitī ^mšūk-ri-ia ú-ma-al-la ¹⁰1 warda ša
[š] ina am-ma-ti ša ^{māt} ^anu-ul-lu-i damqa^{as} ¹¹mar-te-eš-še a-na ^mšūk-ri-ia
¹²ú-ta-ar-ma ù ra-ma-aš-^{šu} ú-še-iš-ši ¹³šum-ma mar-te-eš-še šī-pi-ir-^{šu} ¹⁴ša
^mšūk-ri-ia ša 1 u₃-mi ¹⁵e-zi-ib-[šu] 1 Ma. Na erā ¹⁶ú-ri-hul^a .. mar-te-eš-še
¹⁷a-na ^mšūk-ri-ia [umallā]

(Rev.) ¹⁸maḥar zi-li-pa-pu mār ta-a-a ¹⁹maḥar aš-tar-te-ia mār a-kip-šarri
²⁰[maḥar šūk-ri-te-šup mār ^dAk. Dingir. Ra ²¹maḥar du-ra-ri mār šī-mi-ga
²²maḥar wa-ra-te mār túl-duq-qa ²³maḥar du-ra-ri mār ^ha-lu-ut-ta ²⁴maḥar
ar-ta-še-en-ni mār e^h-li-ia ²⁵maḥar a-^{kap}-ta-e mār a-^hu-um-mi-šā ²⁶maḥar
na-an-na-da^h tup-šar-rum

²⁷aban du-ra-ri ²⁸aban wa-ra-te ²⁹aban a-^{kap}-ta-e ³⁰aban ar-ta-še-en-ni ³¹aban
zi-li-pa-pu ³²aban aš-tar-te-šup ³³aban a-^{kap}-ta-e (Edge) ³⁴tu[p-pu i-na arki]^{ki}
³⁵šu-du-ti i-na pa-ni a-bu-ul-li ³⁶sa-^{ti}-ir ³⁷kunuk du-ra-ri

64 (SMN 910)

¹lišān-^{šu} ša ^ma-ri-ig-[gi]-ir-^{hé} ²mār ku-uš-ši-ia ša [Ur^u...] -ri-iš-pa ³a-na pa-
ni ^{L6} ^šibūti^{mes} an-[nu-tum] ⁴ki-am iq-ta-bi 5 [imēr] ša ⁵a-šar ^mú-nap-ta-e mār
ta-a-a ⁶il-te-qì ù 1 imēr eqil ka₃-aš-ku ⁷ša ^mú-nap-ta-e-ma uš-tu dimti al-ta
⁸a-na di-te-en-nu-ti ⁹a-na ^mú-nap-ta-e at-ta-din ¹⁰e-nu-ma 5 imēr ša a-na ¹¹^mú-
nap-ta-e ú-ta-ar-ma ¹²ù e^gla ša-^{šu} e-lig-qì ¹³šum-ma e^gla ka₃-aš-ka₃ a-na be-li-^{šu}
ú-ma-aš-ša-ru ¹⁴ù 5 imēr ša ša-^{šu} a-na-ku (erasure) ¹⁵a-na ^mú-nap-ta-e ú-ta-ar

¹⁶aban ^ma-ri-ig-gi-ir-^{hé}-ma

* The tablet has erroneously IB.

(Rev.) ¹⁷tu[p-pu] an-nu-ú a-šar abulli ¹⁸ina Uruan-zu-gal-li ša-ti-ir ¹⁹aban mš[a]-du-še-en-ni šibu mār tar-mi-ia ²⁰aban a-la-a-a šibu mār (sic) ²¹aban ha-ši-ia šibu mār pu-ḫi-še-en-ni ²²aban tar-mi-ti-la šibu mār wa-an-ti-ia ²³aban ip-šá-ha-lu šibu mār . . . lu ²⁴aban ta-ku-ia šibu ²⁵mār ak-ku-li-en-ni ²⁶aban ta-i-qa ma-šar abulli (Edge) ²⁷aban na-ni-ia šibu ²⁸mār warad-ku-bi ²⁹aban ha-ši-ip-ti-la tupšarri mār en-na-pa-li

65 (SMN 1046)

¹tup-pí di-te-en-nu-ti ²ša mša-ar-te-e-a mār ha-na-tum ³5 awiḫāru eḡla ina ugāri Uru-nu-zi ⁴i-na šu-pa-al eḡli ša ekallim^{um} ⁵i-na il-ta-na-an eḡli ša mgi-li-ia ⁶ina e-li-en ḫarrāni ša Uru-a-tág-gal ⁷ù i-na su-ta-na-an eḡli ša mku-la-ḫu-bi ⁸ša-nu-ú aš-lu ku-ma-nu eḡla i-na e-li-en ⁹ḫarrāni ša dimti pu-i ù i-na il-ta-na-an ¹⁰eḡli ša mme a-iš-ma-ni napḫar ⁵ awiḫāru ma-la ku-ma-ni eḡla ka-az-zu-um ša mar-te-e-a ¹¹a-na di-te-en-nu-ti a-na ⁶ šanāti^{meš} ¹²a-na mku-la-ḫu-bi mār šúk-ri-ia id-din ¹³ù mku-la-ḫu-bi ¹ Gud Nita ša ru-bu-i damqa^a ¹⁴a-na mša-ar-te-e-a id-din e-nu-ma ¹⁵6 šanāti^{meš} eḡli im-ta-lu-ú ¹⁶1 Gud Nita damqa ša ru-bu-i mša-ar-te-e-a ¹⁷a-na mku-la-ḫu-bi ú-ta-ar-ma ¹⁸ù eḡl-šu i-liq-qi šum-ma eḡlu ¹⁹rabū la i-na-ak-ki-is šum-ma eḡlu ²⁰ṣiḫru la ú-ra-ad-dá šum-ma eḡlu ²¹pí-ir-ka, ir-ta-ši mša-ar-te-e-a ²²ú-za-ak-ka-ma a-na mku-la-ḫu-bi ²³i-na-an-din šum-ma eḡlu ma-a-a-[ru] ²⁴ù mša-ar-te-e-a la i-l[iq-qi] ²⁵ma-an-nu ša uš-tum ⁶ šanāti^{meš} ²⁶ibalkatu^{tu} ¹ Gud Nita damqa^a ša ⁴ [šanāti^{meš}] ²⁷umallā tup-pu ina arki šu-du-[ti] (Rev.) ²⁸i-na Uru-nu-zi ša-ti-i[r]

²⁹maḫar ar-zi-iz-za mār ma-i . . . ³⁰maḫar še-en-ni mār a . . . ³¹maḫar ip-šá-ha-lu mār ³²maḫar xi-lip-ti-la mār ³³maḫar ba-i-te-šup mār ³⁴maḫar a-ri-ig-qa-a-a [mār] ³⁵maḫar ni-ḫé-ir-ti-la (sic) mār . . . na-aš-te ³⁶maḫar a-ri-ig-qa-ma-ri mār [ar-nu]-zu ³⁷qāt a-bi-ilu mār ^dAk. Dingir. Ra tupšarri ³⁸an-nu-tum ši-bu-tum na-dì-na-nu ša alpi

³⁹aban mar-zi-iz-za ⁴⁰kunuk še-en-ni ⁴¹aban mni-ir-ḫi-ti-la ⁴²aban mša-ar-te-e-a bēl eḡli ⁴³aban mxi-lip-ti-la (Left Edge) ⁴⁴aban mip-šá-ha-lu ⁴⁵aban mpa-i-te-šup ⁴⁶aban ma-ri-qa-a-a ⁴⁷aban ma-ri-qa-ma-ri

(Upper Edge) ⁴⁸M^{um} ša tup-pí il-tu-ru ⁴⁹šu-un-tum ^{G^{is}}a-šu-ḫu iš-tum ⁴⁹K^{ur}ha-ni-gal-bat ú-up-pa-lu ⁵⁰ù ša-ti-ir

66 (SMN 2098)

¹tup-pí ti-te-en-nu-ti ša eḡli ²8 ^{G^{is}}awiḫāru eḡlāti^{meš} i-na il-ta-a-nu ³eḡli ša 'a-ru-ú-na ⁴i-na e-li-en eḡli ša 'a-ru-ú-na-ma ⁵i-na su-ta-an eḡli ša mgi-wa-ra-ri ⁶i-na šu-pa-al eḡli ša mur-ḫi-te-šup ⁷i-na ugāri ša Uru-ú-nap-še-wa ⁸a-na ti-te-

* ME is written over an erasure and is very doubtful.

en-nu-ti a-na 5 šanāti^{meš} ti 9 mpu-i-la-e mār e-te-ia 10 a-na mnu-ša-pu mār bur-na-
 zi-ni ittadin^{din} 11 ù mnu-ša-pu 5 imēr šeāti^{meš} 1 imēr kibta 12 8 Ma. Na anākū^{meš}
 2 qa-lu-mu^{meš} Nita 13 hu-ra-pu it-ti šipāti-šu-nu 14 1 qa-lu-mu Sal ša ti-ši it-ti
 šipāti-šu 15 an-nu-tum a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti 16 ki-ma eqli ša-a-šu mnu-ša-pu 17 a-na
 mpu-i-ta-e it-ta-din 18 im-ma-ti-me-e 5 šanāti^{meš} ti 10 ša pi tup-pi an-ni-i im-ta-
 lu-ú 20 5 imēr šea 1 imēr kibta 21 8 Ma. Na anākū^{meš} 2 Uduqa-lu-mu Nita
 22 hu-ra-pu it-ti šipāti 23 ù 1 Uduqa-lu-mu Sal it-ti šipāti 24 mpu-i-ta-e a-na
 25 mnu-ša-pu ú-ta-ar (Rev.) 26 ù eqli-šu-ú i-liq-gi 27 šum-ma eglu pi-ir-ka, irtašū^{šu}
 28 mpu-i-ta-e ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma 29 a-na mnu-ša-pu i-na-an-din 30 Udu^{meš} an-nu-ú
 it-ti šipāti-šu-nu (erasure) 31 i-na arhi^{bi} ki-is-pa-tum ša iš-ki-iš-ki 32 mpu-i-ta-e
 il-gi ù ina arhi^{bi} 33 an-ni-im-ma ú-ta-ar

34 maḥar e-taš-še-en-ni mār at-na-ḥi-ili 35 maḥar ḥa-na-a-a mār ta-a-a 36 maḥar
 ḥé-ir-ri-e-a mār te-ḥi-pa-pu 37 maḥar mu-šu-ia mār ḥa-ši-in-na-mar 38 maḥar
 gi-li-ip-šarri mār a-be-ia 39 qāt mtar-mi-til-la tup-šar-rum

40 aban tup-šar-rum 41 aban mpu-i-ta-e bēl eqli 42 aban me-taš-še-en-ni 43 aban
 mḥa-na-a-a 44 aban mḥé-ir-ri-ia 45 aban mgi-li-ip-šarri (Edge) 46 aban mnu-šu-ia
 47 tup-pi an-ni-i ina arki^{ki} 48 šu-du-ti ina abulli ša Ur^u 49 ú-nap-še-wa ša-ḥi-ir

67 (SMN 2097)

1 lišān-šu ša mma-an-nu-ma-ḥi-ir-šu 2 mār na-i-še-ri a-na pa-ni awēlūti^{meš}
 3 šibūti^{meš} an-nu-ti ki-am iq-ta-bi 4 2 imēr eqlābi^{meš} i-na ugāri ša 5 Ur^u ú-nap-še-wa
 i-na il-ta-an 6 ù i-na šu-pa-al mi-iš-ri 7 ša dimti ir-ri-bi-a 8 ina šu-ta-an eqli ša
 ma-be-na-ri 9 ina e-li-en ḥarrāni ša Ur^u a-be-na-aš 10 um-ma mma-an-nu-ma-ḥi-ir-
 šu-ma 11 eglu ša-a-šu ina pa-na-nu-um-ma 12 me-en-na-pa-lī mār še-en-na-a-a
 13 aḥu-šu ša mnu-ša-pu mār bur-na-zi-ni 14 ki-i-ma 40 Ma. Na er^{meš} ù 15 ki-i-ma
 5 imēr šeāti^{meš} a-na 16 ti-te-en-nu-ti a-na mḥa-ma-an-na mār šūr-ki-ḏu-ri 17 a-pa-
 a-bi-ia it-ta-din 18 ù i-na-an-na 1 Gud Nita damqu^{ku} 19 du-um-na-ar-pu ki-ma
 20 40 Ma. Na er^{meš} ù ki-i-ma 21 5 imēr šeāti^{meš} a-šar mnu-ša-pu 22 el-te-gi-mi ù
 ap-la-ku 23 eqla ša-a-šu a-na mnu-ša-pu 24 um-te-eš-ši-ir šum-ma (Rev.) 25 mma-
 an-nu-ma-ḥi-ir-šu aš-šum 26 eqli ša-a-šu i-na arki mnu-ša-pu 27 i-sa-as-si 1 Ma.
 Na kaspā 28 1 Ma. Na ḥurāša a-na mnu-ša-pu umallā^{la} 29 tup-pu i-na arki šu-du-ti
 30 a-šar abulli ša Ur^u ú-nap-še-wa 31 ša-ḥi-ir

32 maḥar ta-a-a mār warad-dūri 33 maḥar ur-ḥi-šarri mār zi-qa-a-a 34 maḥar
 ad-ma-nu (nu written over erasure) mār šu-ul-be-ni-ni 35 maḥar na-an-te-e-a
 mār ḥu-um-mu-ru 36 maḥar ki-im-pa-ru mār 4 adad-rabū 37 maḥar šur-ki-til-la
 mār a-be-e-a 38 maḥar tar-mi-til-la tupšarru 39 maḥar i-ri-ri-til-la ma-šar abulli
 40 mār a-ri-pa-pu 41 aban mta-a-a 42 aban mur-ḥi-šarri 43 aban mad-ma-nu 44 aban
 mki-im-pa-rum 45 aban mna-an-te-e-a (Edge) 46 aban mšur-ki-til-la 47 aban mi-ri-ri-
 til-la 48 aban mtar-mi-til-la tupšarru

68 (SMN 415)

¹um-ma ^mga-ti-ri-ma ²mār še-en-na-a-a ³ta-a-a ⁴mār ar-te-e-a a-na ⁵Udu^{mes}
a-na mu-ul-li-e ⁶daiānū^{mes} id-du-uš ⁷i-na-an-na ina ūmi an-ni-i ⁸[U]du^{mes} ša-
šu-nu ina muḫḫibi ⁹ta-a-a um-te-eš-ši-ir

¹⁰aban ^mha-šu...-a (Rev.) ¹¹aban ^mga-ti-ri ¹²aban ^mak-ku-li-en-ni mār [a]-zi-ia
¹³aban ^mak-ku-li-en-ni mār eḫ-li-ia ¹⁴aban ^mur-ḫi-te-šup tupšarri (Lo. Edge) ¹⁵aban
^mzi-ki...

69 (SMN 479)

¹lišān-šu-ma ša ²ta-a-ni aḫi-šu ³ša ^mwa-aḫ-ri-še-ni ⁴a-na pa-ni daiānū^{mes}
iq-ta-a-bi ⁵a-ni-na 1 imēr eḡla ⁶wa-aḫ-ri-še-ni ⁷a-na ^men-na-ma-ti ⁸mār te-ḫi-
ip-til-la iddinu^{nu} ⁹ū is-tum 7 šanāti^{mes} ¹⁰eḡla ša-a-šu ak-la-šu-mi ¹¹wa-aḫ-ri-
še-ni ¹²na-di-nu ša eḡli ¹³en-na-ma-ti ¹⁴ū-up-pa-la ū ¹⁵di-in-šu (Rev.) ¹⁶ša ^mta-a-
ni ¹⁷i-pār-ra-zu ¹⁸tup-pi ḫu-uz-zu-zi

¹⁹aban ^mar-ša-ši ²⁰aban ^mar-ni-ia ²¹aban ^mar-te-šup (Edge) ²²aban ^ma-ri-iq-qa-
na-ri

70 (SMN 940)

¹ša-tu-ta-e mār nu-ul-te-šup ²it-ti ^mwu-ur-te-šup mār ur-ḫi-te-šup ³i-na
di-ni a-na pa-ni daiānū^{mes} i-te-lu-ma ⁴um-ma ^mša-tu-ta-e ^mwu-ur-te-šup ⁵il-tal-
ka-am-ma um-ma šu-ma ⁶um-ma lu^mip-ša-ḫa-lu ^{G2}narkabat-ka bi-la-am-ma-mi
ū ⁷a-na al ilāni^{mes} lu-ul-lik-mi ⁸ū ^{G2}narkabta il-te-qì-ma ū is-tu, ⁹šarḫibi^{mes}
ú-ka-al ū i-na-an-na ¹⁰G2narkabti-ia i-ri-iš-ma la inandin^{din} ¹¹ū daiānū^{mes}
^mwu-ur-te-šup is-ta-lu-uš ¹²um-ma ^mwu-ur-te-šup an-ni-mi ¹³ip-ša-ḫa-[lu is]-
tap-ra-an-ni-ma ¹⁴ū ^{G2}narkabta a-[šar] ^mša-du-ta-e ¹⁵il-te-qì-mi ū daiānū^{mes}
(erasure) ¹⁶[a]-šar ^mwu-ur-te-šup is-ta-lu-uš ^{G2}narkabta ša te-el-qú-ú a-ni-na-mi
¹⁷um-ma ^mwu-ur-te-šup ^{G2}narkabtu ¹⁸i-na Ur^{an}-zu-gal-li a-ši-ib ¹⁹ki-i lišān
(written over erasure)-šu-ma ša ^mwu-ur-te-šup ²⁰ša-tu-ta-e i-na di-ni ²¹il-te-
e-ma ū daiānū^{mes} ²²a-na ^mwu-ur-te-šup iq-ta-bu-ú ²³a-lik-ma-mi ki-[me]-e
^{G2}narkabtu ša ²⁴a-šar ^mša-tu-ta-e te-el-qú-ú ²⁵ma-ši-[il] ū ki-na-an-na ²⁶G2nar-
kabta [ša] maš-lu a-na ²⁷ša-tu-ta-e te-ir-mi

(Rev.) ²⁸aban ^mtu-r[a-r]i daiāni ²⁹mār ³⁰aban ^mna-an-na-ki-[il]-dah
daiāni ³¹mār dūr^dEn. [Lil] ³²aban ^mti...-eš-wa-nu-uh-ni daiāni ³³mār ki-bi-ia
³⁴qāt ^ma-ki-ia tupšarri

71 (SMN 1153)

¹me-a-dup-ki a-na pa-[ni] ²ka-ar-tu-ut-ti u[š]-te-ḫé-in ³um-ma šu-ma
^ma-bu-uk-ka iḫ-ta-áb-la-an-ni i-na e-mu-qí-im-ma ⁴i-na biṭi-šu ú-še-ri-ba-an-ni-
mi ⁵ū ^mka-ar-tu-ut-ti ^miḫ-li-te-šup ⁶iš-ta-par-mi um-ma šu-ma ⁷daiānū^{mes} it-ti-ka
li-qì-mi ⁸ū di-na-šu ša ^me-a-dup-ki [e-pu]-uš-mi

¹⁰ma-bu-uk-ka it-[ti me-a-dup-ki] ¹¹a-na d[i-n]i a-na pa-ni dai[āni^{meš} i-te-lu-ma] ¹²um-ma me-a-dup-ki-ma ma-b[u-uk-ka] ¹³iḫ-bi-la-an-ni ù tup-pa-šu [ša] ¹⁴ma-bu-uk-ka a-na pa-ni daiāni^[meš] ¹⁵uš-te-li-ma ù il-ta-zu-uš ša li-ú-ti ¹⁶ki-me-e daiānū^{meš} ma-kip-ta-še-ni ¹⁷šar-ri-ia šši-a-ti ù mzi-ni ¹⁸awēlāti^{meš} daiānū^{meš} an-nu-tum ¹⁹me-a-dup-ki a-na 50 imēr šeāti^{meš} ²⁰ù a-na 1 alpi a-na ma-bu-uk-ka ²¹id-du-šu-mi ²²ma-bu-uk-ka i-na di-ni ²³il-te-e-ma daiānū^{meš} ²⁴me-a-dup-ki a-na 1 amti ²⁵a-na ma-bu-uk-ka it-ta-du-uš (Rev.) ²⁶ki-me-e di-na me-a-dup-ki ²⁷ši-na-túm-ma i-pu-šu

²⁸ù a-na 1 alpi a-na ma-kip-ta-še-ni a-na daiāni ²⁹a-na 1 alpi a-na mzi-ni a-na daiāni ³⁰a-na 1 alpi a-na šši-a-ti a-na daiāni ³¹a-na 1 alpi a-na šar-ri-ia a-na daiāni ³²me-a-dup-ki a-na d[aiāni]^{meš} it-ta-du-uš ³³ki-me-e di-na ši-[na]-túm-ma i-pu-šu

³⁴[kunuk] mdu[b-b]i-te-šup ³⁵kunuk mšu-um-mi-[ia] ³⁶kunuk mih-li-te-šup ³⁷kunuk mšuk-ri-ia kunuk sin-i-gi-ša ³⁸kunuk ma-ku-še-ni ³⁹kunuk mšu-[ur-ru]-ka (Edg.) ⁴⁰gāt men-na-ma-ti tupšarri ⁴¹kunuk mte-ḫi-ia

72 (SMN 2131)

¹mú-na-a-a mār ḫa-am-bi-zi ²it-ti ma-ga-wa-til ³mār tar-mi-ia i-na di-ni ⁴a-na pa-ni daiāni^{meš} i-te-lu-ma ⁵um-ma mú-na-a-a-ma ⁶i-na Edin. Na ma-ga-wa-til ⁷ir-bi-za-an-ni-mi ù lišān-šu ⁸ša ma-ga-wa-til a-na pa-ni ⁹daiāni^{meš} iq-ta-bi a-an-ni ¹⁰a-na-ḫa-mi-iš ni-in-ta-aḫ-ḫa-az-mi ¹¹ù ki-i-ma lišān-šu-nu-ma ¹²it-tar-zu ù iq-ta-bu-ú ¹³ni-in-ta-aḫ-ḫa-az-mi ¹⁴ù daiānū^{meš} mi-ih-zi-šu-nu ¹⁵ša ki-la-al-lu-šu-nu-ma ¹⁶im-ta-nu-ú ù qaqqadu^{du} ¹⁷[ša] mú-na-a-a a-na an-za-an-... ¹⁸...-na 1 ḫi-e-pí ù d[a-ma] ¹⁹um-me-eš-ši-ir ù ²⁰...-tum mi-ih-si-šu-nu ²¹...-qa-ru um-ma-ni-šu (Rev.) ²²[i]-na di-ni mu-na-a-a ²³il(?) -te-i-ma ù daiānū^[meš] ²⁴ma-ga-wa-til ki-ma ²⁵lišān-šu-ma a-na 30 Su kaspi ²⁶mu-ul-li-e a-na 1 alpi ²⁷[1] imēri ù a-na 10 Udu^{meš} ²⁸a-na mú-na-a-a it-ta-din ²⁹gāt ³⁰Ak. Dingir. Ra tup-šar-rum

³⁰aban ³¹aban mi-ru-ia ³²aban mut-ḫáp-ta-e ³³aban mur-ḫi-ia ³⁴aban me-ik-ki-ia (Edg.) ³⁵aban mú-nap-ta-e

73 (SMN 2027)

¹mwa-an-ti-ia mār iḫ-li-pa-pu ²it-ti mni-ir-ḫi-til-la mār (sic) ³ina di-ni a-na pa-ni daiāni^{meš} i-te-lu-ma ⁴um-ma mwa-an-ti-ia-ma ⁵a-na mni-ir-ḫi-til-la la ḫu-ub-bu-la-ku-mi ⁶ù a-na zi-ḫi it-ta an-ni-mi ⁷ù a-na 2 u₃-mi^{meš} i-na zi-ḫi ⁸na-ta-ku-mi daiānū^{meš} (a-na erased) mni-ir-ḫi-til-la iṣ-ta-lu-uš um-ma mni-ir-ḫi-til-la-ma ¹⁰mwa-an-ti-ia ¹¹ḫu-bu-ul-li-ia ¹²pu-ta im-ta-ḫa-az-mi ù ¹³ti-na ú-zu-ur-ti it-ti-šu-mi ¹⁴daiānū^{meš} ¹⁵Lúšibūti^{meš} šu ša mni-ir-ḫi-til-la ¹⁶i-te-ir-šu um-ma mni-ir-ḫi-til-la-ma ¹⁷ša-te-en-šu-uḫ-ma-mi ši-bu-ia-mi ¹⁸ù ša-nu-ú ši-

bu-ti-ia ia-nu-mi ¹⁷daiānū^{mes} ^mša-te-en-šu-uh ¹⁸iš-ta-lu-uš um-ma ^mša-te-en-
 šu-uh-ma ¹⁹ū-la-mi la ši-bá-ku-mi a-ma-te-e^{mes}-šu-nu ²⁰la i-te-šu-nu-ti-mi
 daiānū^{mes} ²¹a-na ^mni-ir-ḫi-til-la iq-ta-bu-ú ²²a-lik-ma-mi ù ^mwa-an-ti-ia ²³ilāni^{mes}
 i-ša-šu-mi (one sign erased) ²⁴mše-ga-ru mār-ku-šu-ia ^mta-i-qa ²⁵mār a-pu-uš-ki
 ù ^mgi-ra-a-a ²⁶mār zi-líp(?) ^mni-til-la ³awēlūtī^{mes} an-nu-ti daiānū^{mes} a-na
²⁷ma-an-za-ad-duḫ-lu-ti a-na ilāni^{mes} ²⁸iš-tap-ru a-šar ilāni^{mes} ^mni-ir-ḫi-til-la
²⁹id-du-ur ina di-ni ^mwa-an-ti-ia il-te-e ³⁰ū daiānū^{mes} ^mni-ir-ḫi-til-la (Rev.) ³¹a-na
 1 alpi a-na zi-ḫi na-ti-šu ³²a-na ^mwa-an-ti-ia ³³it-ta-du-uš
³⁴qāt ^mur-ḫi-te tupšarri ³⁵aban ul-mi-ia mār šur-ki-til-la ³⁶aban te-ḫi-ip-zu-
 lu-uk mār ak-ku-li-ni ³⁷aban šur-ki-til-la mār a-kip-ta-še-ni

74 (SMN 1110)

¹um-ma ¹šu-ḫu-ur-na-a-a-ma ²šum-ma 15 imēr šea 9 imēr ki-bá-tum ³1 (pi)
 20 (qa) [ḫal-lu-ru] ⁴6 šaḫē^{mes} 1 Ri Ni ⁵30 Udu^{mes} šum-ma an-nu-tum ⁶ša
 mki-bi-ia ma-ti-ia . . . *šū ⁷ma-ni-ia ù ^mku-la-ḫu-bi ⁸la il-te-qu-ú ù ⁹la ik-ki-
 ru-šu-nu-ti-ma

¹⁰um-ma ^mna-[ni-ia] ¹¹ū um-ma ^m[ku-la-ḫu-bi] ¹²šum-ma 15 [imēr šea]
 13 9 imēr kibātī^{mes} (Rev.) ¹⁴1 (pi) 20 (qa) ḫal-lu-r[u] ¹⁵6 [šaḫē^{mes} 1] Ri Ni
 16 30 Udu^{mes} šum-ma [an-nu-tum] ¹⁷[ša] ^mki-bi-ia ¹⁸ša ¹šu-ur-na-a-a
 (sic) i-[qa-b]i ¹⁰ni-i-nu ni-il-qú-ú-ma ²⁰ū i-na-an-na ²¹ni-ik-ki-ru-ma ²²[qāt]
^mma-li-ia tup-šar-rum

²³kunuk ^mak-ku-li-en-ni

²⁴aš-šum a-wa-ti an-na-ti ²⁵i-na ¹ḫur-ša-an illakū^{ku} ²⁶ša ig-gal-lu Gaz. Uš
²⁷a-wa-tum ša ḫu-ub-ti

(Edge) ²⁸kunuk ^mpu-[ru]-sa ²⁹kunuk ^mar-tar-wa ³⁰kunuk ^maš-šu-wa(?) -a(?) -
 na(?)

75 (SMN 251)

¹um-ma ¹ku-ri-du-ma šum-m[a] ²du-ul-du-ú-ma ³it-ti-ia la iz-zi-e-lu-ma ⁴ū
 šum-ma ki-na-an-na la iq-bu-ú-ma ⁵amtum^{tum} ša mit-ḫa-pu at-ti-mi ⁶ū šum-ma
 a-na-ku la aq-bu-ú-ma ⁷am-mi-ni amtum^{tum} ša mit-ḫa-pu ⁸a-na-ku-mi amtum^{tum}
 ša šarri a-na-ku-mi (line 8 was written over an erasure) ⁹ū šum-ma ¹du-ul-du
 la iq-bu-ú ¹⁰. . . li . . . il-ki šarri ¹¹a-na mit-ḫa-pu a-na-at-ti-[in]

¹²um-ma ¹du-ul-du-ma ¹³a-an-[n]i-mi it-ti ¹⁴ku-ri-tum iz-zi-el-mi ¹⁵ū šum-
 ma [a-na-k]u ¹⁶a-na ¹ku-ri-tum ¹⁷ki-na-an-na la aq-bu-ma (Rev.) ¹⁸amtum^{tum} ša
 mit-ḫa-pu ¹⁹at-ti-mi ù šum-ma ²⁰ku-ri-tum la iq-bu-ma ²¹am-mi-ni amtum^{tum}
 ša mit-ḫa-pu ²²a-na-ku-mi a (?) amtum^{tum} ša šarri ²³a-na-ku-mi ù šum-ma
 a-na-ku ²⁴la aq-bu-ma a-an-ni-mi ²⁵an-nu-ú ù an-nu-ú ni-te-ma-mi ²⁶ū šum-ma
 ki-na-[an-na la] aq-buma ²⁷. . . . il-ki šarri-mi ²⁸(erased: 5 signs, the first
 of which was ù)

²⁹aš-šum a-wa-ti an-ni-ti ³⁰ina ^{1d}hur-ša-an illakū^{mes} ^{ku}ša ig-gal-la ³¹:Gaz. Uš
³²kunuk ^{mzu}-ia ³³kunuk ^{mar}-ha-ma-an-[na] [mar] a-kip-... (Edze) ³⁴kunuk
^{mzi}-in ³⁵aban ^m[pa]l-te-šup mār ha-li-ip-pa ³⁶[qāt ^mAn]. Ni-šu tupšarri

76 (SMN 2093)

¹a-na ^{mše}-eh-ra-mu-uš-ni ²ki-bi-ma ³um-ma ⁴ta-ti-ip-te-šup-ma ⁵ni-iš bitāti^{mes}
 šu ša ⁶mše-hal-te-šup šeāti^{mes} ⁷a-na la-qa-ti i-na ⁸dīmti tam-qa-ar-ra ⁹it-ta-at-
 la-ku ¹⁰(i-na [?] erased) ¹¹ū iš-ri-ku ¹²ū mi-nu-um-me-e (Rev.) ¹³awēlūti^{mes} šar-ra-
 qa-ni-šu-nu ¹⁴mš[e-hal]-te-šup ¹⁵[i-i]q-bi-šu-nu-ti ¹⁶ša-bat-zu-nu-ti-ma ¹⁷ū i-na
 muhhi^{bi} šarri ¹⁸šu-bi-la-aš-šu-nu-ti

77 (SMN 538)

¹I sinništu ša ekallim^{lim} ²a-na 5 bilat erī^{mes} ³mi-li-it-ti-ia tamkarri ⁴il-qī ū
 i-na ⁵e-ri-ib harrāni^m ⁶šu 5 bilat erī^{mes} ⁷a-na Güerina^{na} ⁸moš ⁹a-na Güšur-
 mi-ni^{mes} ¹⁰a-na Güta-ap-ra-ni ¹¹a-na Güa-zi^{mes} ¹²a-na mi-it-ri (Rev.) ¹³ū a-na e-it-
 na-qa-bi-i ¹⁴a-na Sig Naugni^{mes} ¹⁵a-na Sig ki-na-aḥ-ḥi ¹⁶ū a-na hu-ru-hu-ra-ti
¹⁷ša tu-ul-ti^{mes} ¹⁸mili-it-ti-ia ¹⁹ū-up-pa-aš-ma ū ina ekalli ²⁰a-na ²¹ta-a-a
 i-na-an-din

²²kunuk ^{mili}-it-ti-ia tamkarri

78 (SMN 53)

¹4 Udu^{bi}.a ^{mes} ū ²10 ta-pa-lu Tig. Ud. Du Gú. Ē^{mes} ši-na-ḥi-lu ³ša ekallim^{lim}
⁴mar-ra-ap-ḥa-ri ⁵mār iš-ti-ri ⁶lām-gar-rum ⁷a-na tām-gar-ru-ul-ti ⁸il-qī ū
 ši-im-šu-nu ⁹šipāti^{mes} ... aš-lu-ti ¹⁰[a]r(-?)-ki(?) .. [š]a Ni^{mes} ¹¹ū (?) qaq-
 gaḍu .. mu-...-tum ¹²ša bitāti^{bi}.a ¹³ša ekallim^{lim} ¹⁴ša Uru^{nu}-zi ¹⁵ū-up-pa-la
 (Rev.) ¹⁶aban ^{mar}-ra-ap-ḥa-ri tamkarri

79 (SMN 2141)

¹lišān-šu ša mha-ši-ip-ti-l-la mār ki-bu(?)¹-ia ²a-na pa-ni awēlūti^{mes} ši-bu-ti
 an-nu-ti ³iq-ta-bi 1 Udu damqa ⁴(erased) ⁵a-na ši-mi a-na Dam. Gar-ši a-šar
 wu-ur-[te-šup] ⁶el-te-qī ū a-na ⁷2 Su kaspi damqi ⁸⁻⁹(erased) ¹⁰iš-tū harrāniⁿⁱ
 i-na ¹¹bi¹¹Hu-Ri-ši ¹²a-na ¹³wu-ur-te-šup a-[na]-an-din ¹⁴ū i[m-m]a-ti ¹⁵[ha-ši-
 ip-ti-l-la] ¹⁶2 Su ka[spi] ¹⁷⁻¹⁸(erased) ¹⁹i-na bit¹⁹ ²⁰wu-ur-te-šup ²¹ū-še-ri-ib ū
²²wu-ur-te-šup ²³1 Udu Nita ša 2-šu ba-a[k-nu] (Rev.) ²⁴(erased) ²⁵a-na mha-
 ši-ip-ti-l-la ²⁶mār [ki-bu(?)¹-ia ū-ta-ar] (the rest of Rev. is mostly destroyed)
²⁷kunuk ^{mša}-ar-te-šup ²⁸[kunuk ^m] ... -te-šup ²⁹[kunuk] ³⁰tar-mi-te-šup mār
 a-kip-ta-še-ni (Edze) ³¹kunuk

80 (SMN 59)

¹[1] Ma.Na 32 Su erā^{meš} ²iš-tu erī^{meš} ša ³nī-gál-la^{meš} ša ēkallim^{lim} ⁴mku-la-
hu-bi ša a-na ⁵pa-i-til-la ša na-ad-nu ⁶ù i-na-an-na ⁷1 Ma.Na 32 Su erū^{meš}
⁸ša-a-šu-ma a-na ⁹G^uđalti ša ma-qa-...* ša libbi āli ¹⁰a-na qāti^{ti} (Rev.) ¹¹[ša]
^m[pa]-i-til-la ¹²na-ad-nu
¹³aban ^mpa-i-til-la

81 (SMN 67)

¹10 biltu ²7 Ma.Na 30 Su erī ³ha-mu-zi ⁴m^hē-ēl-ti-ip-te-šup ⁵ù mgar-mi-šā
⁶iš-tu bit na-kam-ti ⁷ša Uru^{nu}-zi (Rev.) ⁸it-ta-aš-ru

82 (SMN 41)

¹20 Su^{meš} še-ši-im-te-na ²iš-tu bit^{ti} ³na-kam-ti ⁴uš-te-šú-ú ⁵a-na mak-ku-li-
en-ni ⁶it-ta-ad-nu
(Rev.) ⁷aban ak-ku-li-ni (sic)

83 (SMN 2058)

¹1 G^unarkabtu i-na ²iš-qa-ri ³ša Uru^{nu}-zi ⁴a-na Lú^u-pa-ru-ú-ti ⁵ša Kur^{ha}-ni-
gal-bat ⁶i-na i-zi-ni ⁷gi-nu-ni ⁸ša āl ilāni^{meš} ⁹na-di-n[a]
(Rev.) ¹⁰[aban ^mš]ur-ki-til-la ¹¹mār a-kip-ta-še-en-ni

84 (SMN 2056)

¹1 G^unarkabtu a-šar ²ma-ki-pa-pu ³mār ha-ši-pa-pu ⁴li-qú-ú-ma ⁵a-na mar-ru-
um-ti mār (sic) ⁶na-din ù ⁷mar-ru-um-ti ⁸i-na Kur^{aš}-šur ⁹ú-bi-la
(Rev.) ¹⁰aban ha-ši-ip-til-la ¹¹mār hu-ti-ia

85 (SMN 549)

¹1 ma-at ù 50 ²išē^{meš} še-pi-tum ³ša-ak-ku-ul-li ⁴mni-iḫ-ri-ia mār šarri iddinu^{nu}
⁵90 iše^{meš} še-pi-tum ⁶a-na 10 G^uba-aš-šu-ri-ti ⁷nadnu^{nu} ⁸9 G^uše-pi-tum ⁹me-ḫi-
ip-til-la

86 (SMN 501)

¹3 Gud Nita zi-il-lu-t[i] ²29 Gud Liđ^{meš} ša Û.Tu ³8 Gud Nita ša 3 šanāti^{meš}
⁴6 Gud Sal ša 3 šanāti^{meš} ⁵7 būru (Zur) Nita ša šatti^{ti} ⁶5 būru Sal ša šatti^{ti}
⁷naphar ⁸58 Gud^{meš} ⁹ša m^ši-il-wa-te-šup ¹⁰a-na qāt m^{bēl}-aḫi^{bi}-šu ¹¹a-na qāt m^{ta}-i-qa
na-a[d-nu]
(Rev.) ¹²4 Udu Sal ša Û.Tu ¹³1 Udu Nita ša 3 ša[nāti^{meš}] ¹⁴2 zu-ḫi-ri-e Sal
[ša] 2 šanāti^{meš} ¹⁵1 Udu Nita ša 2 šanāti

¹⁶nap̄har 8 Udu^{meš} a-na qāt ¹⁶m̄wi-ir-ri-iš-ta-an-ni na-ad-nu

¹⁷aban m̄wi-ir-ri-iš-ta-ni ¹⁸aban m̄bēl-aḫi^{bi}-šu

87 (SMN 25)

¹⁵imēr šeu a-na zerē^{meš} ²a-na 5 imēr eqli ³ša ¹ú-uz-na ⁴a-na m̄ki-ba-li ⁵na-ad-nu ù eqlāti^{meš} ⁶ša ¹ú-uz-na ⁷a-na šu-ta-pu-ti ù ⁸m̄ki-ba-li ⁹la i-na-an-din

(Rev.) ¹⁰aban m̄ki-ba-li

88 (SMN 1031)

¹²imēr eqla m̄na-ni-ip-til-la mār mu-uš-še-a ²zēra^{meš} a il-qì eqlu zēru^b ša m̄ḫe-el-ti-ip-til-la

³1 imēr eqla zēra^{meš} a ša m̄ḫe-el-ti-ip-[til-l]a ⁴m̄wa-an-ti-iš-še mār šī-il-wa-a-a <il-qì>

⁵1 imēr eqla zēra^{meš} a ⁶m̄dur-pu-un-na mār ur-ḫi-ia il-qì ⁷zēru^b ša m̄ḫe-el-ti-ip-til-la ⁸ù eqlu ša m̄dur-pu-un-na-ma ⁹ù eqla šu-nu-ma i-ir-ri-šu ¹⁰i-iz-xi-tum ¹¹i-dá-aš-šu-nu ¹²še^{meš} ù tibna^{meš} c (Rev.) ¹³it-ti m̄ḫe-el-ti-ip-til-la ¹⁴a-na mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš ¹⁵i-xu-uz-zu

¹⁶aban m̄na-ni-ip-til-la ¹⁷qāt m̄ši-ma-an-ni ¹⁸aban m̄wa-an-ti-iš-še (Edge) ¹⁹aban m̄dur-pu-un-na

89 (SMN 75)

¹12 imēr 1 (pi) 20 (Sila) šamaššammu^{meš} ²la za-ku ³7 imēr šamaššammu ⁴za-ku-ú ⁵i-na Giš.Bar ⁶ša 8 qa (rest uninscribed)

90 (SMN 48)

¹1 nu-bi qanāti(Gi)^{meš} ²šu-ku-te ša ēkallim^{im} ³iš-tu Uru^{nu}-zi ⁴a-šar m̄ti-šá-am-mu-uš-ni ⁵i-na Uru ⁷du-ru-ub-la ⁸a-na qāti^{ti} (Rev.) ⁹m̄tar-mi-til-la ¹⁰mār tar-mi-te-šup ¹¹na-ad-nu

¹²aban m̄tar-mi-til-la

91 (SMN 446)

¹um-ma ma-... ²mār na-an-te-... ³9 imēr šeāti^{meš} [iš]-tu šipāti^{meš} ša ⁴m̄ḫa-šu-ar [mār šī-mi]-qa-ri ⁵a-na ma-aš-ka-ni ⁶i-na bīlī^{ti}-ia ⁷ša-ak-nu ù (written over erasure) ⁸(erased) ⁹m̄ḫa-šu-ar ¹⁰i-na a-i-im-me-e ¹¹u⁴-mi e-ri-iz-zu-nu-ti ¹²ù i-līq-qì

(Rev.) ¹³aban ma-...-ia ¹⁴aban m̄dadad-ilu-reštū ¹⁵tup-šar-rum

a Še. Nus^{meš}.

b Nus.

c Še. In. Nus^{meš}.

92 (SMN 279)

¹4 Udu Nita^{mes} Gal ²10 ga-lu-mu^{mes} ³10 Udu Sal Ū.Tu^{mes} ⁴mu-ud-du-šu
⁵ša še-ga-ar-zi-iz-za-a ⁶iš-tu 96 Udu^{mes} ⁷50 Udu^{mes} ša ⁸mi-du-ud-mi
⁹aban še-ga-ar-zi-iz-za-a ¹⁰mār ha-na-aq-ga-a

93 (SMN 162)

¹um-ma mhu-bi-[ta] ²mār ha-al-še-e[n-ni-ma] ³mšu-ri-ḫi-il mār el-... ⁴a-na
ia-ši me-im-ma ⁵la hu-ub-bu-ul ù ⁶a-na arki mšu-ri-ḫi-il ⁷la a-ša-as-si-me ⁸ù
um-ma mšu-ri-ḫi-il-ma ⁹ù mhu-bi-ta a-na ¹⁰ia-ši la hu-ub-bu-ul-me ¹¹ù arki
mhu-bi-ta ¹²la a-ša-as-si-me ¹³ša idalkatu^{tu} ¹⁴1 Ma.Na [kaspa] 1 Ma.Na
hurāša ¹⁵ù-ma-al-la

(Rev.) ¹⁶maḥar pal-te-ia mār e-t[e]-... ¹⁷maḥar ha-šu-a-ar mār še-ga-rum
¹⁸maḥar hu-ti-ia mār ta-pa... ¹⁹maḥar ilu-ib(aš)šū^{tu} mār ha-ma-an-na
²⁰maḥar a-li-ib-bi-ia ²¹mār ki-iz-zi-ḥar-pa ²²maḥar wa-an-ti-ia mār mi-ir-ku-ga
²³maḥar ²⁴sin-dì-na tupšarri mār al-te-šup ²⁵maḥar a-kap-dùg-gi mār qa-t[i-
r]i(?)

²⁶aban ²⁷sin-dì-na tupšarri ²⁸aban mpal-[te-ia] ²⁹aban mhu-ti-ia (Left Edge) ³⁰aban
mhu-ti-ia ³¹aban ma-li-ib-bi-ia (Upper Edge) ³²aban ma-kap-dùg-gi

94 (SMN 145)

¹um-ma mzi-ri-az-za-na-ma ²mār pa-i-til-la-ma ³a-bu-šu ša mzi-gi mār ta-i-
til-la ⁴mta-i-til-la a-na ia-a-ši ⁵a-na il-te-nu-ti hu-ul-la-an-ni ⁶ù a-na 2 imēr sei
hu-ub-bu-ul-mi ⁷i-na-an-na ni-il-tam-gar-ma ⁸ki-ma 2 imēr sei ki-ma ⁹il-te-
nu-ti hu-ul-la-an-ni ¹⁰12 Ma.Na anākū^{mes} Sal (sic) ¹¹a-šar mzi-gi el-te-qi-mi
¹²ap-la-ku-mi ša ¹³ibalkatu^{tu} 1 alpa umallā^{mes}

(Rev.) ¹⁴kunuk ki-in-ni ¹⁵ma-šar abullī ¹⁶kunuk te-ḫi-ip-til-la mār zi-lip-til-la
¹⁷kunuk zi-ra-a-a mār ip-šā-ḫa-lu ¹⁸kunuk ta-i-te-šup mār šā-ar-te-šup ¹⁹qāt
ni-ra-ri mār ta-a-a tupšarri ²⁰kunuk hu-ti-ip-a-pu mār pu-ru-sa

95 (SMN 2140)

¹lišān-šu ša mar-ša-wa mār apil-^aamurri ²i-na pa-ni awēlāti^{mes} ši-bu-tum
³iq-la-bi 1 šu-ši (Su) kaspa^{mes} ⁴ša me-ḫé-el-te-šup mār ta-a-a ⁵a-na ši-im 1
amti il-qi-mi ⁶ù 1 amta damqa^{as} na-áš-ku ⁷ša K^wnu-ul-lu-i (ša-am, erased)
⁸i-na ga₂-ma-ar arḫi^{bi} hu-ri-še ⁹mar-ša-wa a-na me-ḫé-el-te-šup i-na-an-din
¹⁰šum-ma i-na u₁-mi ša ga-bu-ú ¹¹(kaspa, erased) amta la i-na-an-din ¹²1 Ma.

Na erā a-na u₄-mi-šu ¹³ū-ma-al-la ¹⁴mip-sá-ḫa-lu mār gi-el-ša-am-pa ¹⁶ma-ḫi-iš
pu-ti-šu ¹⁶ša mar-ša-wa

¹⁷maḫar na-i-te-šup mār ... ¹⁸maḫar ku-uz-zu mār ar-... ¹⁹maḫar ša-ku-ia
mār apil-[d]amurri (Rev.) ²⁰maḫar tar-mi-til-la mār ur-ḫ[i]-ia ²¹maḫar pa-i-ši-ni
mār ta-e ²²qāt ²³tar-mi-ia tupšarru mār ku-a-ri ²³tup-pi ina arki^{ki} ²⁴šu-du-ti
sa-ṭi-ir

²⁵aban ²⁶tar-mi-ia tupšarru ²⁶aban ²⁷tar-mi-til-la ²⁷aban ²⁸mar-ša-wa (Edge) ²⁸aban
²⁹ma-i-te-šup ²⁹aban ³⁰pa-i-ši-na

96 (SMN 2135)

¹lišān-šu ša mar-[ša-wa mār apil]-a-mur-ri ²i-na pa-ni šī-bu-ti an-nu-[ti]
³iq-ta-bi 1 amta ša ⁴Kur^{nu}-ul-lu-i ⁴a-na ⁵meḫ-li-te-šup mār ta-a-a ⁶ḫu-bu-la-ku-mi
ù i-na-an-na ⁶1 amta^{meš} (sic) ša ⁷Kur^{nu}-ul-lu-i ⁷a-na ⁸meḫ-li-te-šup at-ta-din ⁸ù
ga-an-ni im-ta-šar ⁹i-na u₄-mi an-ni-im ma-am-ma ¹⁰i-na arki ma-am-ma la
i-sa-as-si ¹¹šum-ma amtu pa-qí-ra-na ¹²ir-ta-ši mar-ša-wa ¹³ma-in-na-ni ù
¹⁴ša-ku-ia ¹⁴[ú]-za-ak-ku-ú-šu-nu-ti ¹⁵a-na ¹⁵meḫ-li-te-šup i-na-an-[din]

¹⁶maḫar in-ni-qa-a-a ¹⁶Lú[tar-ku]-ma-su ¹⁷maḫar ma-i-it-ta mār warad-^{di}štar
(U) ¹⁸maḫar šu-um-mi-ia (Rev.) ¹⁹mār eḫ-li-ia ²⁰maḫar šī-mi-qa mār túl-pi-ia
²¹[maḫar a]-kip-še-en-ni ²²[mār ni]-iḫ-ri-ia

²³kunuk a-kip-še-en-ni ²⁴kunuk šī-mi-qa ²⁵kunuk in-ni-qa-a-a ²⁶kunuk ma-
it-ta (Edge) ²⁷kunuk ni-ra-ri tupšarru ²⁸kunuk ar-ša-wa ²⁹(erased)

97 (SMN 2094)

¹1 ka-ti-in-ni ša siparri ²ša 1 Ma.na šu-qú-ul-ta-šu ³ù 1 Ma.Na An.Na
An.Na^{meš} ⁴ša māre^{meš} pu-la-ḫa-li ⁵šū-ru-uq-qa mār a-ri-pu-ri-ig-gi ⁶a-na
šipti^{ti} il-te-gi ⁷ù i-na arḫi^{bi} še-ḫa-[li ša] ⁸adad ⁹ga-du šipti-šu [anāka] ⁹ù
siparra ¹⁰š[u-ru-uq-qa] ¹⁰a-na māre^{meš} pu-[la-ḫa-li] ¹¹ú-ta-a[r]

¹²aban ¹²ma-ḫu-u[m]-mi-šá (Rev.) ¹³maḫar at-[ta-a]-a mār a-zi-ia ¹⁴maḫar zi-
[me] mār zi-li-ia ¹⁵maḫar el-[la-ā]u mār šī-mi-qa-ri ¹⁶maḫar a-ḫu-[um-mi-ša
mār] ...-du-ra ¹⁷maḫar tar-mi-til-l[a] tupšarru

¹⁸aban ¹⁸zi-me ¹⁹aban ¹⁹at-ta-a-a ²⁰aban ²⁰el-la-du ²¹aban tupšarri

98 (SMN 2050)

¹1 sisū Sal ²zi-ir-ra-ma-an-nu ³ša ³ša-i-ma-aš-šu-ra

⁴1 sisū Sal za-a-mu ⁵ša ⁵ti-ir-wi-na-ri ⁶a-na qāt ⁶mel-ḫi-ip- ⁷ta-še-en-ni
(Rev.) ⁸na-ad-nu ù i-na ⁸abn^{meš} la na-du-ú

¹⁰aban ¹⁰mel-ḫi-ip-ta-še-en-ni

99 (SMN 2029)

¹₁ sisū aq-qa-nu ²_{ba-ab-ru-un-nu} ša ^{Kur}ha-li-gal-bat ³_ù 1 sisū aq-qa-nu ⁴_{ba-ab-ru-un-nu} ša ^{Kur}mu-ur-ku-na-aš

⁵₁ sisū sāmu aq-qa-nu ⁶₁ sisū ba-ab-ru-un-nu Ki. Min ⁷_{a-šar} ⁸_{te-ḫi-ip-ti-l-la} aš-bu

⁹₂ sisē^{mes} ¹⁰_{sāmūti^{mes}} Ki. Min ¹¹_{a-šar} ¹²_{ba-en-ni} aš-bu

¹³₁ sisū (1 sign erased) am-qa-ma-an-nu ¹⁴_{ša} ^{Kur}mu-ur-ku-na-aš ¹⁵₁ sisū am-qa-ma-an-nu ¹⁶_{ša} ¹⁷_{ekalli} a-šar ¹⁸_{šī-la-ḫi} aš-bu

(Rev.) ¹⁹₁ sisū ša-al-mu Nita ²⁰₁ sisū am-qa-ma-an-nu Nita ²¹_{a-šar} ²²_{ta-ú-ug-qa-an-ni} aš-bu

²³₂ sisē^{mes} Nita zi-ir-ra-an-nu ²⁴_ù mi-ki-ir a-šar ²⁵₂₀ ²⁶_{bur-ni-ia} aš-bu

²⁷₁ sisū am-qa-ma-an-nu ²⁸₂ 1 sisū Nita sāmu ²⁹_{a-šar} ³⁰_{ḫu-bi-ta} aš-bu

³¹₂₄ (1 sisū ba-ab-ru-un-nu, erased and faintly visible) ³²₂₅ (aq-qa-nu ša ^{Kur}ha-li-gal-bat, erased and faintly visible) ³³₂₆ (the rest is uninscribed)

100 (SMN 2032)

¹₁ sisū ba-ri-it-ta-an-nu ²₁ sisū Mu ³_š a-al-mu ⁴_{a-na} ⁵_{ḫé-el-ti-ip-te-šup} pa-qi-id

⁶₁ sisū Nita Mu ⁷₆ sāmu bi-in-qa-ra-an-nu ⁸₁ Ki. Min Nita Mu ⁹₆ zi-ir-ra-ma-an-nu ¹⁰₁ Ki. Min Nita Mu ¹¹₅ am-qa-ma-an-nu ¹²_{ti(?)}-im-xu i-na ku-ta-al-li-šu pu-ḫa-ar-ri-in-nu ¹³₁ Ki. Min Nita Mu ¹⁴₇ sāmu ¹⁵₁ Ki. Min Nita Mu ¹⁶₅ e-la-e ¹⁷₁ Ki. Min Nita Mu ¹⁸₅ e-la-e ¹⁹₁ Ki. Min Nita Mu ²⁰₄ am-qa-ma-an-nu ²¹₁ Ki. Min Nita Mu ²²₇ sāmu ²³_{naphar} ²⁴₄ šī-mi-it-tum sisē^{mes} ²⁵₁₄ an-nu-tum a-na qāt ²⁶_{mu} wa-an-ti-ia nadnū^{nu}


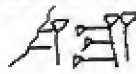


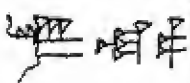

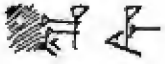





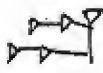


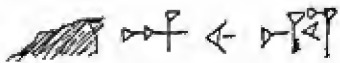






²⁷₁₅ sisū Nita Mu ²⁸₃ am-qa-ma-an-nu ²⁹₁₆ 1 Ki. Min Nita Mu ³⁰₅ pè-šú-ú ³¹₁ Ki. Min Nita Mu ³²₆ sāmu . . . ³³₁₈ 1 Ki. Min Nita Mu ³⁴₅ a-al-mu ³⁵₁₉ naphar ³⁶₂ š[ī-m]i-it-tum sisē^{mes} ³⁷₂₀ a-na qāt . . . (Rev.) ³⁸₂₁ ša Uru . . . -e(?) nadnū^{nu}

³⁹₂₂ sisē^{mes} Nita Mu ⁴⁰₃ sāmu ⁴¹₂₃ am-qa-ma-an-nu ⁴²₁ sisū Nita Mu ⁴³₇ am-qa-[ma-an]-nu ⁴⁴₂₅ 1 sisū Nita Mu ⁴⁵₄ a-al-mu ⁴⁶₂₆ naphar ⁴⁷₂ šī-mi-it-tum sisē^{mes} ⁴⁸₂₇ a-na qāt ⁴⁹_{mel-ḫi-ip-ti-l-la} nadnū^{nu}

⁵⁰₂₈ 1 sisū Mu ⁵¹₅ am-qa-ma-an-nu ⁵²₂₉ 1 sisū Mu ⁵³₅ sāmu ⁵⁴₃₀ an-nu-tum a-[n]a . . . mu-šá-pu nadnū^{nu}

⁵⁵₂₁ naphar ⁵⁶₂₀ sisē^{mes} an-nu-tum ⁵⁷₃₂ a-šar tamkarre^{mes} a-na ⁵⁸_{ekalli} ⁵⁹₃₃ ma-aḫ-ru

PLATE OF AUTOGRAPHED SIGNS

1,49			
5,18		6,13	 
7,44		13,4	
14,6		14,14	
19,13		29,11	
31,20		33,17	
33,41		34,11	
55,51			
59,12		73,26	
74,6		74,17	
80,9			

[An asterisk (*) in the text refers to this plate.]

PART II

TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARY

BY

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CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations,	58
Introduction,	59
A. The People of Nuzi vs. Mayor Kushshiharbe (Nos. 1-14),	59
B. The Archives of Tulpunnaya (Nos. 15-45),	75
C. Oil Rations for the Gods (Nos. 46-50),	97
D. Miscellaneous Texts (Nos. 51-100),	102
Appendix A. On Some Hurrian Numerals,	131
Appendix B. The Linguistic Substratum at Nuzi,	136
Index to the Notes,	143
List of Personal Names	145

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	= The ANNUAL
Afo	= Archiv für Orientforschung
AJSL	= American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
BAW	= Meissner, Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch
CT	= Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum
FL	= Speiser, New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws, AASOR 10.1-73
Gadd	= Tablets from Kirkuk, RA 23.50 ff.
H I	= Harvard Semitic Series V
H II	= Harvard Semitic Series IX
H III	= Harvard Semitic Series X
JAOS	= Journal of the American Oriental Society
KAV	= Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts
KBo	= Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KUB	= Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
MVAG	= Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft
MPND	= Cross, D., Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents, American Oriental Series 10
N	= Chiara, Excavations at Nuzi, volumes I-V
NKRA	= Koschaker, Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit
OLZ	= Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OPNA	= Berkooz, M., The Orthography and Phonology of Nuzi Akkadian, Language Dissertation Series 23
RA	= Revue d'Assyriologie
RLA	= Reallexikon der Assyriologie
SL	= Deimel, Sumerisches Lexikon
SMN	= Nuzi Texts in the Harvard Semitic Museum
TCL	= Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
ZA	= Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAW	= Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

PART II

INTRODUCTION

Few remarks are required to indicate the methods employed in the following pages. The lines of the Akkadian text have been marked at intervals of five. To that extent the requirements of Akkadian syntax had to be recognized, with results that will not always be pleasing to English ears.

In all italicized phrases normalized linguistic transliteration has been employed. Otherwise, proper names are given in conventionalized spelling, with the following exception: *h* has been provided with a hook after *p*'s and *t*'s, in order to avoid confusion in an English context. Determinatives are usually confined to the translations. "City" is marked by a *c*, "woman" by an *f*, both suspended; they are omitted in the notes (except in italicized passages), and the determinative for "man" is omitted also in the translation.

Only longer gaps or uncertain supplements have been indicated by means of brackets. All other textual details are noted in Dr. Pfeiffer's edition in Part I of the present volume.* All the texts in the present study are referred to in the notes by means of No., or without any special identification.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Pfeiffer for enabling me to make use of his transliterations of the remaining one hundred texts, which could not be included in this work. I am also grateful to Dr. Lacheman for supplying me with a number of his own transliterations and for collating a series of passages during Dr. Pfeiffer's absence from Cambridge.

A. THE PEOPLE OF NUZI VS. MAYOR KUSHSHIHARBE

(Nos. 1-14)

Among the texts selected for the present volume there is a small group (Nos. 1-14) which promises to attract the attention of many who may not be concerned otherwise with the Nuzi records as such. The fourteen texts which make up this group combine to form a document that is of unique interest to the student of ancient history, and especially to the historian of ancient government.

The subject matter is alleged offenses on the part of Kushshiharbe,¹ Mayor

* [For minor differences in transcription and method, see Introduction to Part I. Some of these might have been composed but for my absence from the country. E. A. S.]

¹ The initial sound of this name is reproduced in three ways. In addition to the

of the city of Nuzi, and of several of his henchmen. The list of allegations is a long one, but it has enough variety to prevent it from becoming wearisome. The recital is by no means systematic. Each text records one or more depositions against the chief magistrate and his underlings. In many instances the replies of the accused are also recorded, but no verdict is mentioned. We have thus evidently before us the customary preliminary briefs,² upon which the decision is to be based.

The personnel of the court is not the same throughout. In seven instances the depositions are taken by two judges,³ twice by a single judge,⁴ and in one particularly serious case (No. 4) the document contains the names of three judges in addition to the signature of the scribe. In another document the name of the scribe alone is appended (No. 12), while two texts have no names of either officials or scribe⁵; finally, No. 13 is damaged at the end where the official names are expected. These variations in the size and composition of the official body lead to the conclusion that the Kushshiharbe case lasted a long time, since it required many hearings.

It goes without saying that the fourteen texts under discussion do not exhaust the original material on the subject; they merely constitute all that is available at present. But it should be borne in mind that accidents of discovery, preservation, and decipherment are always factors in matters of this kind. It scarcely can escape notice that the actual verdict has not come down to us, even though a reasonably safe guess can be made about the outcome of the trial, as will be seen presently.

Before we proceed to a brief review of the case against Kushshiharbe, it is in order to point out the essential difference between the present texts and the bulk of the Nuzi material published thus far. Most of the tablets relating to Kushshiharbe were unearthed by Dr. Chiera during the season of 1927/28 in Room 2 of Building C, which was situated on the mound of Yarghān (Tape)

normal *k* (the present occurrences are: 2.5, 9; 5.35; 9.6; 13.6), we find *q* (N 46.23), and *ḫ* (3.2 ff.; 4.7 ff.; 7.20 ff., 8.38, 42; 10.5). The variation of *k* and *ḫ* (found also in a number of other names; cf. Berkooz, OPNA, under "Velars") is particularly significant. It can be accounted for only on the assumption that the stop in question was strongly aspirated in this dialect (*kh*); for the possibility of a similar condition in Hattic, cf. Friedrich, AfO 11.78. Of importance, in view of the Kassite origin of Kushshiharbe, may be in this connection the name [d]ḫar-du-ni-[aš], KAV 51 b 3; but cf. dḫAR-Nuzu, SMN 2563.2, 7, 11, 15 (supplied by Dr. Lacheman).

² I. e., *tuppi taḫsil/sti*, though the name is never used in this series of documents.

³ Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, and 14. It is interesting, and possibly not due to mere coincidence, that Paya is invariably one of them.

⁴ Nos. 3 and 6, the judge being the same both times (Haishteshup).

⁵ Nos. 9 and 13.

proper. On the other hand, all but two * of the documents published in JEN I-V and H I-II had come from two houses on the plain near the foot of the mound. Those houses were private dwellings, regardless of the official positions which their inhabitants may have held. Their epigraphic contents constituted private family archives. But the buildings on the mound were given over to religious and administrative purposes, and their libraries were consequently of a public nature. The trial of the highest city official was naturally a matter of public concern, and the records of that affair would have been out of place in the residence of a Tehiptilla, a Zigi, or an Ilanu. Once again, then, archaeological results are in full accord with the internal evidence of the inscriptions.

The name and position of Kushshiharbe have been known to us for some time from documents previously published. The private archives have introduced this personage as the most publicized mayor (*hazyānu*, *hazannu*) of Nuzi. The relevant passages are listed below.

N 13.21-2: *ù i-na ú-[mi]-šu ina URUNu-zi 1Ku-uš-ši-har-be ha-za-an-nu*
 "And at the time Kushshiharbe was mayor of Nuzi."

N 31.37-8: *un-tù 1Ku-uš-ši-har-be i-na URUNu-zi ha-zi-a-an-nu* "When, etc."

N 46.23-4: *ù šu-un-tu, 1Gu-ši-har-be ina URUNu-zi ha-za-an-nu-la i-pu-uš*
ù [i-na] ūmi-šu 1Te-[hi-ip-ti]la qa-aq-qa-ru an-nu-ú il-qì "And at the time Kushshiharbe held the position of mayor in Nuzi, and during his time Tehiptilla received this ground."

N 231.31-2: *Ki-ma 1Ku-uš-[ši]-har-be ha-za-an-nu ina u, -mi-šu ša-ti-ir*
 "When Kushshiharbe was mayor, during his time (this) was written."

N 257.21-3: *tup-pu an-nu-ú ki-ma 1Ku-uš-ši-har-be ha-za-an-nu ina URUNu-zi* "This tablet (was written) when Kushshiharbe was mayor of Nuzi."

N 455.30-2: *šattu ki-ma tup-pu ša-aṭ-rù 1Ku-uš-ši-har-be ha-za-an-nu-ú ina URUNu-zi* "The year when the tablet was written Kushshiharbe was mayor of Nuzi."

No other mayor is mentioned as frequently or as elaborately. In fact, the other mayors are merely listed as witnesses,⁷ though their names are sometimes allowed to head the list as a possible concession to their rank (N 292.37; H I 21.12.).⁸ The Nuzi date formulae seem thus in effect to have been restricted

* H II 23 and 81.

⁷ Ehliṣapu, H I 67.58 and 96.28; but cf. N 440.16 and CT II 21.27; Geltilla, H I 21.12; Paitilla, N 292.37; Teshurhi, 433.37; U (?) miya, N 174.10 (merely father of a witness).

⁸ Ehliṣapu (N 440.16) and Teshurhi appear in their official capacity as officers in whose presence documents are made out.

to the time of Kushshiharbe. The reason for this treatment is not immediately apparent. To be sure, as events turned out, the administration of Kushshiharbe was to prove both notorious and memorable; but this situation could not have been anticipated by the scribes who employed the formulae while the mayor was still in office. The explanation must be sought elsewhere, and onomastic evidence appears here to provide a plausible clue. The name Kushshiharbe is distinctly, one might even say ostentatiously, Kassite.⁹ The other known mayors, on the other hand, viz., Teshurhi, [U]miya, Ehliapapu, Getilla, and Paitilla bore names that are typically Hurrian. Being a Babylonian in origin, Kushshiharbe might have been expected to introduce a system of dating that was so typical of the South. How and why a foreigner became the head of the municipal government at Nuzi, and whether the subsequent resentment against him was due in any measure to his supercilious behavior as a "civilized" Babylonian at the head of an "unenlightened" and "native" community, are questions that had better be left alone; speculation about them may prove interesting, but hardly profitable.

We are fortunately in a position to establish the relative date of Kushshiharbe's administration. All the documents that mention his name involve that other notorious Nuzian, Tehiptilla son of Puhishenni, who represents the first active generation which the Nuzi documents introduce to us. The period of Kushshiharbe antedates thus the times of Ennamati and of Takku, respectively son and grandson of Tehiptilla.¹⁰ In terms of less localized chronology, Kushshiharbe must have held office, therefore, during the latter part of the reign of Saushshatar of Mitanni.¹¹ And this gives us the beginning of the fifteenth century B. C. as our absolute date.

Practically all of the charges against Kushshiharbe fall under the same general category; their burden is corruption. Misappropriation of crown property appears to have been a common offense (cf. No. 1). Thus Kushshiharbe is accused of having used labor gangs from feudal camps¹² for his private purposes; of diverting tax collections to his own use; and of adorning

⁹ The first element is identical with the *Kuššū* which appears in the ethnicon *KURKu-uš-šu-ša-i*, H I 37.6 and *KURKu-u[š]-šu-u[š]-ša-a-ú*, N 529.16, and varies only in its first vowel from the *Kuššū* of the remaining cuneiform sources. It is worthy of notice that Greek *Kassaios* presents the intermediate vowel form, while *Harbe* is equated with Enlil in the Kassite god list.

¹⁰ Cf. the Introduction to Group B.

¹¹ See H II 1, seal, and cf. JAOS 49.269-75. The addressee of that letter (Ithiya, who figures as King in N 289.31) is apparently the son of King Kipi-Teshup, N I 82.29, a contemporary of Winnirgi; cf. Koschaker, ZA NF 9.201.

¹² For this value of *dīmtu*, cf. note to 1.5.

his home in Anzugallu with a gate fashioned from wood belonging to the palace. His excuses appear to be lame indeed: he was unaware of the employment of feudal labor, and the lumber used by him was his own property. The latter argument is promptly contradicted by his own carpenter. It was doubtless owing to practices of this sort that a mayor of Nuzi, who was supposed to represent the interests of the King, acquired the means to maintain homes in Anzugallu and perhaps also elsewhere.

Emboldened by initial successes, Kushshiharbe extended his lawless activities. He accepted bribes (No. 2), even though they might be calculated to interfere with normal legal procedure (No. 9.) He used the property of private citizens to pay the wages of his own workers, and to fertilize his gardens; those who dared to resist his emissaries were cowed into submission by threats of violence (No. 3). A poor wretch assigned to one of Kushshiharbe's farms was fined because he had the effrontery to spend the night in his own house after a hard day's work on the farm (No. 8).

It may have suited Kushshiharbe's purposes to have some thin legal excuse for his palpably unfair practices. But his henchmen felt little need of resorting to disguises of this kind. In Peshkilishu,¹³ Kipiya, Zilipapu, Hashipapu, and a number of minor figures, the mayor had a band of worthy assistants. Kidnapping seems to have been a favorite and highly profitable sport. Zilipapu collects ransom from the brother of a victim, while Peshkilishu has another victim flogged until he is ready to pay the ransom for his abducted wife (No. 3). Another kidnapping case, instigated by the same Peshkilishu, paves the way for further crimes. The victim bailed evidently from a distant locality. His brothers raised the ransom and set out to free the captive. Arrived in the city of Arrapha, they hired one of the local men to conduct them to the specified place. After the ransom (called "travelling provisions" with what was probably unconscious humor) had been paid, one of the rescuers was slain by brigands and the local guide was kidnapped in turn. Before the surviving brothers were allowed to leave, an indemnity had to be paid to the father of the captured guide (No. 8).

The above case illustrates, incidentally, the size of the territory in which these bandits operated, a territory extending far beyond the confines of Nuzi. This may explain the otherwise puzzling circumstances that Hashipapu is also introduced as a mayor (No. 7), against whose activities a futile appeal is made to Kushshiharbe. We cannot but regard Hashipapu as the mayor of some neighboring city. In that case it will hardly be anachronistic to speak of an extensive and highly organized partnership between government and crime.

¹³ On this name, see 2.56, note.

Some of the penalties reported by the plaintiffs in this suit of the People vs. Kushshiharbe were imposed for what were on the surface legitimate reasons. Thus sheep had to be furnished for alleged failure to provide carts for the work of the palace (No. 6), and for negligence in repairing a broken bridge (No. 7). But the reason given for one of the fines is certain to cause some amusement: the victim was penalized for allegedly mixing his milk with water (No. 6)!

Although the verdict is not recorded in the tablets at hand, there need be little doubt as to the ultimate decision. For in addition to the charges reviewed thus far, there is one which the accused does not face with composure. According to No. 4, Kushshiharbe was guilty of immoral behavior with one Humerelli. He defends himself with unusual vehemence. But his protestations are likely to fall upon deaf ears. For the offence was committed twice, different agents being employed to bring Humerelli to the trysting place on each occasion; and one of these agents, now turned accuser, is Ziliptilla, once a prominent member of Kushshiharbe's staff of assistants.

This composite record of the arraignment of Kushshiharbe is illuminating in many respects. It throws considerable light on social and political conditions in the land of Arrapha during the middle of the second millennium, at a time when the Hurrian settlement in this section was of comparatively recent date and the people shared the advantages and disadvantages of a pioneering community. The attendant abuses of officials were scarcely novel or unique then, and they have since been duplicated on innumerable occasions. But it is seldom that one finds a record of such conditions at once so vivid and so ingenuous. And the implications are fully as interesting as the specified details. For in spite of his arrogation of dictatorial powers and the perfection of an efficient organization, Kushshiharbe could be and ultimately was brought to trial to answer for his deeds. On final analysis, few civilizations can be given a higher endorsement than that of Nuzi as it was thirty-five hundred years ago.

Thus Turari: "Thirty (pieces) of [*ampanna*]-wood were placed in the gate, and Kushshiharbe [took them away]."

Thus Kushshiharbe: "I did not take [them]!" Thus again Turari: "Thirty feudal tenants from (5) the districts barley from the palace [...] and for Kushshiharbe sesame and millet planted, and collected the *ampanna*-wood."

Thus Kushshiharbe: "I sent out Ziliptilla and thus I (said), 'Sesame and millet plant [...] (10) There is an *imār* of sesame and (some) millet that can be planted; and gather also *ampanna*-wood.' But as for the thirty feudal tenants from the districts, I know nothing about them."

Thus Palteya: "Forty (pieces) of *šāššugu*-wood belonging to the [palace] Hutiya the carpenter took away (15) and made a door for Kushshiharbe; and (that) door for Kushshiharbe's house in 'Anzugallu [he made?]; [and I] transported that wood."

Thus Kushshiharbe: "The wood was mine, so I gave it to be made into a door; (20) and wood belonging to the palace for the making of a door I did not give out!"

Thus Hutiya the carpenter: "I made the door. (Some) wood from 'Anzugallu Shahluteshup to me delivered, and the rest of the wood from 'Nuzi he delivered to me. And as for that wood, (25) I knew that it belonged to the palace, but I made it into a door for Kushshiharbe."

Thus Hashipapu: "Two yokes for wagon-tongues and two harnesses Kushshiharbe placed in my hands and thus he, namely Kushshiharbe, thus (spoke), 'Oil from [the men] (30) who are in your charge exact, and fix the wagon-tongues.' And I oil from the men in my charge exacted(?) and applied it to them (i. e., the wagon-tongues)."

Thus Shahluteshup: "Concerning the two yokes for wagon-tongues which Kushshiharbe gave to Hashipapu for oiling, (35) I indeed thus (spoke), 'You yourself ordered the oiling (saying), 'Oil from the men in your charge exact and apply.'"

Thus Kushshiharbe: "I did not say to Shahluteshup, 'Oil for the wagon-tongues and the harnesses from the city exact'!"

(40) Thus Hashipapu: "The houses [...] were sealed up, but Kushshiharbe broke their seals and stripped (them) clean."

Thus Kushshiharbe: "The seals [of the houses] Hashipapu himself broke and the house[s he stripped clean]!"

(45) Thus Hashipapu: "Tehupshenni and Unaptae x [...] stole and be-

fore(?) the judges [...] and Kushshiharbe [...] Ziliptilla [...] according to (50) the declaration of Turari [...] and his bribe the foes of [...]” Kushshiharbe took. Thus Kushshiharbe: “The bribes of Tehupshenni and Unaptae I did not [take]!”

(55-6) Seals of Partasua and Piri-Ashshura.

1. The term *ampanna* has to be considered in common with *šaššugu* (with the variant *šik/pišu*, H II 12.9, Sumerian ŠEMUŠ, cf. Thompson, Assyrian Herbal 186), and *šakku*, (cf. 85.3 and Götze, Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Texte des Hattušiliš p. 60), all with the determinative GIŠ. All three do or can refer to certain types of wood. Knudtzon, *Amarna* 22 IV 25 mentions 10 *ap-pa-na-an-nu* made of bronze, which could not be related to the present term. The Amarna word has probably its counterpart, as Dr. Lacheman informs me, in Nuzi *ap-pa-nu*, perhaps “shrine” or part thereof. On the other hand, our *ampanna* is paralleled by Nuzi GIŠ*am-pa-an-nu* (SMN 61 passim), of which carts (*šumbu*) are made.

5. In this line and in line 12 we have a satisfactory explanation of the significance of the *dīmtu*. It now becomes clear that such districts were organized and distinguished primarily for the purposes of feudal service and taxes. In other words, they were government districts. Incidentally, this throws light on such texts as N 135 and 321, where the name of the person after whom a given district is known is being ascertained; such an eponym and his heirs were in some way connected with the collections, a responsibility that was probably not without profit. The significance of these texts has been misunderstood by Gordon, RA 33.1-6.

8. The verb is here and in lines 9 and 10 *erēšu* “plant, cultivate.”

22. Note the writing URU*an-su-qa-al-i*, with the third syllable spelled out. The final vowel is that of the genitive, just as in *Nuzi*; the latter name, however, has attained too much currency to be changed now to *Nuzu*.

27. For the combination of *šimittu* and *sa/u(d)innu*, cf. HARRA-*hubullum* V, col. I 67-8 (Meissner, Assyriologische Forschungen I 21).

28. In *kušpaḥḫu* we have a Sumerian loanword the value of which (“harness,” or the like) is as yet absent from Sumerian lexicons. The first syllable indicates that the object in question was made of leather (KUŠ), provided that the word is not Hurrian in origin. That this is not so may be seen from Sumerian KUŠPAḪ/LUL, cf. Deimel, ŠL 355.14. The reading PAḪ is supported *ibid.* 35, not to speak of our word in this text and in 11.17 (*ku-uz-pa-aḫ-ḫa*). Moreover, Deimel, *loc. cit.* 24 is equated with *libbu ša xibāniti*, where *x* is surely a synonym of *gišrinu* and *šimittu*, cf. Meissner, *op. cit.* p. 31, and not “scale,” which meaning that word possesses otherwise (the semantic connection between the two values is through “cross-piece”). Finally, the pictographic form of the sign LUL/PAḪ is that of the head and neck of an equid (Deimel, *loc. cit.* No. 1), so that the value “harness” for KUŠPAḪ-*kušpaḥḫu* becomes self-evident. Thus, strangely enough, the Nuzi texts contribute to our understanding of a Sumerian term, something that one would scarcely expect of them.

31. For the reading *ušteddin*, cf. 7.50.

34. With *maḥḡu* we are obviously to understand *šamna* or *ina šamni*.

42. The employment of *mašāru* in the sense of “rob (a house)” is interesting especially because of the connection of this verb with *galābu*, which has the same specialized meaning; cf. 10.22 and N II 125.3, 16. Both verbs share the ideogram DUBBIN

and the value "cut." In the present application the verb must have the underlying value of "shave, strip clean, ransack." For the bearing of this passage on the phrase *ganna imtašar*, cf. note to 32.8.

46. The text seems to have ŠAH-*ma-ru*, which may perhaps represent *giššimaruma-ru* "date-palm." But the theft of such a cumbersome object would not be easy to understand; cf., however, the theft of trees reported in H II 12.

2

[Thus Ninuari: "Two shekels of gold to Taishenni I] gave and in the threshing space he placed me (?)." (5) Thus (said) <he>: "Kushshiharbe took the two shekels of gold." Thus Ninuari: "To Taishenni I gave (it):" Thus Taishenni: "The two shekels of gold to Kushshiharbe (10) I gave. One ox and two sheep for my harvest remained (?), but all was taken away."

4. Note *uštēšiwanni* for *uštēšibanni*; cf. *w/bagnu*, NI 128.14. For the meaning, cf. *uštēšibuš*, 6.53.

12. The force of this phrase appears to be that of an infinitive absolute, though the syntax is far from clear; *kimē ukālma ukāl*, 21.15 and 32.14, is not an exact analogue.

3

Thus Zi[liptilla]: "One TUM.LAL-garment of *martadu* and one sheep to Kushshiharbe I gave. And he said, 'I shall make [you] *x*.' Those [goods?] he took, (5) but he did not make me *x*."

Thus Kintar from the village of Annishu: "One cart, five shekels of purified silver, one bowl (weighing) 3 minas, 30 shekels of bronze, 1 garment, two plucked sheep, now these (10) Ziliptilla took away. And Ziliptilla demanded from Kirirukazzi barley *ša bu-ri*. One sheep he took away and [...] *imēr* of barley *ša bu-ri* from the Merchants' district in his own house he stored [...]" (15) Thus Haniyu son of Zuliptilla: "[...] *x* [...] locked me up and thus he (spoke), 'Bring one sheep as payment of a fine.' He accepted one pig and released my brother."

Thus Ninuari: "Kushshiharbe (20) removed me from my threshing floor. Two shekels of gold, one ox, and two male sheep I gave to Kushshiharbe and he allowed me to return."

Thus Tehiya: "Stored barley representing the (yield from) one(?) *imēr* (and) five *awešaru* of land, and its straw (25) Kushshiharbe by force took away and gave to Hamanna, the carpenter."

Thus Mar-Ishtar: "The manure for one *imēr*, five *awešaru* of land the gardener of Kushshiharbe took away (from me). (30) Thus I (said), 'Why do you take away my manure?' And thus he (spoke), 'As for you, he has

ordered you to be flogged, and your district he has ordered to be devastated.⁷ I became frightened (35) and (so) he removed (it)."

Thus Waratteya: "Shukriteshup appointed me in charge of pasturing(?). In the gate he imprisoned [me]. (40) Hashipapu placed me in the tower(?), took one male sheep and then released me. Kipiya son of Apeya, my shepherd, he flogged, took two sheep (and) one kid. (45) Artashenni he placed in [...], [...] mina(s) of [...] one *ziyanatu*, [...] couch, (48-50 destroyed)."

(51) Thus [...]: "One splendid [...] and one garment [...] Kushshiharbe took by force and kept (it)."

Thus Tup[piya] "[...] Hashipapu (55) flogged [me] and took one sheep."

Thus Paya: "[...] my wife(?) Peshki-ilishu in [...]. I was going to worship(?) (when) he seized me and forty lashes (60) with a rod he smote me. I paid him two sheep and one mina(?) of lead, and he released my wife. Hashipapu entered my *mupaniru*(?) in [...], (65) two *imēr* of barley, five measures of wheat, and one male sheep he took by force."

(66-67) Seals of Haishteshup and Paya.

1. That TUM.LAL is a kind of garment is shown by its occurrence with the determinative TUG, cf. Deimel, *SL* 208.35. The word *martadu/tu* is common in the Nuzi documents. Dr. Lacheman has noted a number of its occurrences in the SMN texts, where it is found with *ḫullānu*, *kustu*, as *m.ša Gḫeršī*, etc. Evidently, then, *m.* signifies some kind of material.

6. The name *An-ni-šu* could be read *ūn-išā*, which is suggested by the common writing DINGIR.TUG; but the matter is not settled as yet.

9. The form *baqittu*, with assimilation of *n*, is interesting. Contrast *bā-gi-ma-tā*, H I 14.9.

11. Barley described as *ša bu-ri* is mentioned also in Gadd 81.2. Does it mean "stored in the silo"?

20. For *maškanu*, cf. Goetze, *AJSL* 52.154 f. The verb which follows is probably III/II formation from *rāqu* and not a form of *šarāqu*; cf. line 35, where it appears to be used in a transitive sense.

24. A comparison of *ma-la imēr* in this line with *ī imēr* in line 28 would favor the assumption that *ma-la* is one of the Hurrian terms for "one." If the word is taken as Akkadian, difficulties arise on both semantic and syntactic grounds. But *ma-la* is occasionally preceded by *ī* (H I 39.16); this is not the place, however, to discuss the problem adequately.

36. A comparison of related proper names shows that *Waratteya* contains the element *warad*.

37. For *ana r.*, a reference to line 43 seems to be pertinent. That ŠUR is the correct reading of the sign MUK in proper names (here *Šuk-ri-te-šup*) was discovered by Chiera and indicated as early as *JAOS* 47.57 (line 39). The remarks to the same effect made by Langdon, *RA* 31.190, coming as they did seven years later, are therefore out of place.

40. The above translation of *nupari* (cf. also *bit nu-ba-[ri]* 12.12) is purely a guess based on a tentative equation of the word with *napurru*. Equally plausible would be

the translation "prison," and the suggested etymology is not essential to it. That the word has nothing to do with *nub/pāru*, synonym of *libbu* (cf. Meissner, BAW II 49 f.), is obvious from the context.

47. For a discussion of *siyanatu*, cf. Feigin, AJSL 51.26 ff. A convincing explanation of the term is still wanting.

56. For the name *Peški-ili-šu*, cf. note at 8.2.

60. The synonym *ḫuṣūru* (Aramaic loanword?) for the usual *ḫattu* is worth noting.

4

Thus Ziliptilla: "Last year 'Pizatu made 'Humerelli stay with her(?). I and Shimitilla (5) went over at night, we called to her and brought her to the place of Kushshiharbe; and he slept with her." Thus Kushshiharbe: "No! (10) Emphatically no! Not a word (of it is true)! I did not sleep with her!"

Thus Palteya: "I called to Humerelli (and) took her over to the *ḫurizati*-house of 'Tilunnaya; (15) and Kushshiharbe slept with her." Thus Kushshiharbe: "(May I perish) if 'Humerelli to the *ḫurizati*-house of Tilunnaya (20) Palteya did bring over that I might sleep with her!"

(22-25) Three seals. Signature of Nabū-ilu, the scribe.

2. For *ina šattaqda*, cf. *Ki-mu-ū ša-at-ta-aq-dā*, 8.34 and *Kibātu ša ša(!)-at-ta-aq-dā* "last year's wheat," N 548.7.

3. *urteimmišu*: this particular form of *ramū* seems to have here the sense of "making one's home," or "being made to stay with." It clearly suits the context.

13. For (*bīt*)*ḫurizati*, cf. N. 105.8 (land of); obviously related or identical is *ḫu-ri-zi-na* (wall of), SMN 2603.7. A connection with *ḫurāšu* is, of course, out of the question. Quite plausible, on the other hand, is the relationship of our word with the Assyrian *ḫuruš* and *bīt ḫuruš* (note the same flexibility in attaching *bīt*), or *ḫurše/i*, cf. Weidner, in *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, p. 91 note 3. From some such general meaning as "the house of provisions," the term develops, through its association with Ishtar, into a popular synonym of *bīt aš/ūtamme* "house of women, brothel" (ibid.). With the addition of the present passage, both values of *ḫuruš* are now found also in the Nuzi *ḫurizati/ḫurizina*, i. e., that of a public or religious department, and that of a "harem."

5

Thus the soldiers of 'Nuzi: "Ninety-two sheep Kipiya received. Neither did he take them to the palace nor yet (5) did he return them to us." Thus Kipiya: "Ninety sheep as fines for the carts we received. And from among them, seven sheep were prepared (10) in the orchard and the soldiers of 'Nuzi ate them." And thus the soldiers of 'Nuzi: "We did not eat the meat!" Thus Paya, Uta, (15) and Kawinni: "We ate the meat."

Thus the soldiers of 'Nuzi: "One hundred and fifty(?) sheep for išsisi [Kipiya] (yearly) exacts. (20) And whenever his sheep are many, for

copper he accepts them as payment. Sixty sheep in [...] for *issisi* they prepared (25) and ninety (of the?) sheep they ate."

Thus Kipiya: "When the *issisi* sheep which I exact are many, the sheep may reach (30) one hundred (in number), and when they are few they reach seventy or sixty. And from among [...] the sixty sheep that have been counted, [...] for *issisi* I ate, and the remaining sheep (35) Kushshiharbe ate; and as payment for copper I did not exact them."

(37-38) Seals of Paya and Haishteshup.

3. The sense of *summa la* . . . *summa la* is manifestly "neither . . . nor." The imprecative connotation is absent this time since the *la* retains its negative force.

4. In *an-na-aš-ni* we have the dative pronoun of the first person plural parallel to *a-na na-aš-ni*, N 156.15; 171.12, as seen by Gordon, AJSL 51.3 note 3. The origin of this Nuzian form is as yet ambiguous.

18 ff. The meaning of *issisi* (cf. also 12.8) is unfortunately obscure. The term is used in connection with sheep, and some form of tax is apparently designated thereby. Lines 27 ff. make it clear that income from this particular source varied considerably from year to year.

6

Thus Huite: "Seventeen of my sheep Kipiya took for one day only. Thus he, 'The sheep are for the palace.' Verily, for (the work) of the palace he did not deliver them (5) nor did he indeed return them to me."

Thus Kipiya: "Kipaya, the shepherd of Giliya, went out to pasture and thus he, 'These seventeen sheep belong to the palace; and Arimmatka with (10) [...]spu sent me.' And we seized those sheep. And [...] Arimmatka locked them up, and [...] to the palace(?) he did not deliver them. And among those seventeen sheep he had taken five (15) from Shukriya. And Kipaya, the shepherd, accepted from Shukriya one bowl(?) and (his) sheep he released."

Thus Arimmatka: (20) "Seventeen [sheep] Kipiya brought [...] Nihriya [...] into the hands of [Kipi]ya delivered them. [...] five sheep from Shukriya (25) he had taken and from among the seventeen sheep [...] he released them."

Thus Shukriya: "Four [sheep] Kipiya took away; and from among those sheep two [sheep] (30) he released and two sheep he kept. Thus he, 'And why indeed do you bring your milk to be diluted with water?'"

Thus Kipiya: "Arimmatka sent me and thus he, 'Why did not the carts (35) of Kiriya go down to the fields of the palace? Go and seize four of his sheep.' I went and seized four sheep and (40) to Arimmatka I brought them. Two of his sheep he (subsequently) released, but his (other) two sheep in the threshing space of the palace Hutiya, the farmer(?) cooked and the men who drive the carts ate them.'"

(45) Thus Arimmatka: "Yes, I sent him."

And thus the men who drive his carts: "We did not eat them!"

Thus Ipshahalu: "Shukriya, (50) the man in charge of sheep, one of my sheep took away; Shukriya removed it and in the same month Kipiya put it away (?) and another sheep Kipiya took."

(55) Thus Kipiya: "No indeed! An(other) sheep of his in that month I did not take! On the afore-mentioned day (only) one of sheep of his I took."

Thus Zikanta: (60) "I was coming back from the land of Hanigalbat, when Kipiya took away my clothes. Two *imēr* of barley I had to give him, and my clothes he released."

Thus Kipiya: "One kid (65) [...] Tultukka on loan [...] and Zikanta [...] Tultukka I gave. The two *imēr* of barley I did not take."

(69-70) Signature of Hutiya, the scribe. Seal of Haishteshup.

7. The meaning of *mu-ru-ti* in this passage is established by the correspondence of *LÖrs'u* in this line with *LÖmu-ru* in line 16. It is probable that *māru* has this value throughout and not that of *mue'rru*, as I formerly assumed.

7

Thus Akapshenni: "The messenger of the palace came to me and said, 'On account of the bridge which broke down (5) produce two sheep, the mayor's fine.' And I took from Arimmatka two male sheep, on loan, and to Ulluya, the *šuanathu*, (10) I delivered (them), and he took them over to the palace. And as for me, Hashipapu, the mayor, dispatched me together with Giliya to the Kayari district and he caused 12 sheep to be seized (15) and we brought them to the house of Hashipapu, and they were held there. And now, after the harvest, Arimmatka has been setting the law against me on account of (those) two sheep. (20) I appealed to Kushshiharbe, but he would not heed me."

Thus Akapshenni: "Two sheep, so sick that they were about to die, Ehli-teshup to the hand of my brother (25) delivered. Thus he, 'They belong to Kushshiharbe, so do you revive them.' And because he had handed them over and they died, I eight *imēr* of land into *ditenūtu* (30) to the son of Arizizza gave and received two sheep, which I handed over to Ehli-papu."

(35) Thus Ehli-papu: "I did not deliver (the sheep)! Hashipapu himself delivered them, and Hashipapu, too, took back (the others)!"

Thus Hanatu: "I was roofing the house (40) and spreading reed-matting over the cross-beams. Ziliptilla and a slave of Kushshiharbe came over and of the entire(?) matting (45) they stripped the house. And Kushshiharbe took away the reed mats."

Thus Tehiptilla: "Hashipapu clothing (50) for the *ubāru*-men was collecting. The clothing of the others was replaced, but my garments he kept."

Thus Tuppiya: "(55) One male sheep Ziliptilla took away, cooked it in his house, and ate it."

(58-59) Seals of Haishteshup and Paya.

9. For the occupational term *šuanatšu*, cf. *LÜšu-a-na-at-šu*, N 462.21. The correspondence with the *mār šipru*, line 2, is possible, but not definite.

20. The verb *šanānu* is used here in the sense of "seek mercy," rather than "have mercy." In other words, the meaning is that of the Arabic tenth conjugation. Curiously enough, we find also in the same sense the form *uštuhēhin* (cf. N 321.8, and ZA NF 9.205; see also 71.2) with what might appear like the preformative of that conjugation; this is even more noticeable in the prefix *ūt-* of the Amarna occurrences of the same verb (cf., Knudtzon, Index 1508). However, the repeated *h* precludes so simple an explanation. For some years I have regarded this Amarna and Nuzi verb as a "blending" of two distinct roots, viz., *šahā* or *šahāhu* "be low, prostrate" and *šanānu* "be gracious, merciful." The present appearance of a clear form of *šanānu* strongly supports this assumption. The origin of the component elements would be West Semitic; the combination may well have been effected under Hurrian influence.

29. To judge from the context, *imēr* is probably an error for *awēharu*. The juristic significance of *ditenānu* is now clear enough, thanks especially to the studies of Koschaker. The transaction is based on antichretic security. The principal remaining difficulty is etymological. Koschaker (Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wis. 42.1.87) regards the word as Hurrian and translates it as "usufruct." One of my objections to this translation is that the money for the loan of which such security is required may also be given into *ditenānu*, cf. 62.8. In JAOS 52.350 ff. I arrived at the translation "possession." Inasmuch, however, as the basic connotation of the term leaves no longer any room for doubt, with the question of etymology alone remaining to be settled, I leave the term untranslated in this volume.

40. *pu-ā-ra* represents here *burā* "reed-matting," for which see Meissner, MVAG 12.162. *GIšparisātu* is found also in H II 17.3.

45. The meaning of *kawatumma epēšu* is conjectured from the context.

50. For *ubāru*, cf. note at S3.4. In the present passage the position of the *u.* is entirely different from that of "the Ambassador from Hanigalbat," so that we may operate here with the original meaning of the term, viz., "sojourner."

8

Thus Ithišta: "One brother of mine Peshkillishu took away and for *kušaurātu* to Hashikuwa he brought him. A month he was there (5), the second month he did not release him, and (so) in the third month two of my brothers took with them provisions and went forth. On reaching the district of Shilahish they hired a man from Arrapha. (10) One of my brothers he took (with him) and they left taking the provisions to Hashikuwa. My brother who had taken the provisions hostile men slew, but the man from the City of the Gods they carried off alive. (15) And the father of the man

from the City of the Gods came over and my [remaining] brother he seized and said, 'You hired my son and (now) hostile men have taken him away.' He accepted three sheep, one [...] -garment, [...] mina(s) of copper, and one mixing bowl of [bronze] (20) and he released my brother." Thus Naniya: "My brother Ithipari was stationed in Turtaniya; and Peshkillishu released him from his feudal work, taking one maid, one complete ox-hide (25) and *halwatru*-wood for two yokes as bribe."

Thus Hinzuri the wife of Ziliya: "I gave to Peshkil(1)ishu a sheep as a fee and thus I (said), 'With regard to my lands (30) attend to my lawsuit with Kariru.' My lawsuit he did not conduct. I spoke (to him) about my sheep, and he smote me and my sheep he kept; furthermore, he seized me and took six minas of copper. Thus (35) he (said), 'For last year I am taking (it).'"

Thus Huya: "One woolly ewe Peshkil(1)ishu took away."

Thus Hashiya: "For farm work they assigned me to Kushshiharbe. (40) All day I would till and at night I would go to my house. And Unaptarni, a servant of Kushshiharbe, seized me and thus he (spoke), 'Why do you go to your house?' And one garment(?) x x (45) he took away. And Peshkil(1)ishu also seized me and to Iniya for eight measures of barley he handed me over; and eight measures of barley from my appropriation he deducted."

Thus Uthaya: "One sheep and one goat (50) Peshkil(1)ishu took by force."

Thus Zigi: "One sheep Peshkil(1)ishu took by force upon *šallušmu*."

Thus Palteya: "One sheep Peshkil(1)ishu took away."

Thus Paliya: "One mina of lead, (55) one table whose legs were of beechwood, and one couch Peshkil(1)ishu took away by force."

Thus Hanakku: "One bow Peshkil(1)ishu took by force and 7 measures of barley from my brother as . . he took away."

(60) Thus Shukriteshup: "One ass Peshkil(1)ishu took for a price, but the price he did not pay; and verily he has not returned it upon *šallušmu*."

Thus Hatarte: "I was journeying in the land of Hanigalbat, and on account of my lawsuit (65) they handed me over to Peshkil(1)ishu. One sheep, one mixing bowl of bronze and two doors Ahumisha paid as a fee to Peshkil(1)ishu, but he did not attend to my suit."

(70-71) Seals of Paya and Haishteshup.

2. The spelling of this name varies between *Peš-ki-iti-šu* (3.56; 9.3, 13; 10.4 ff.) and *Peš-ki-il-li-šu* (here and in line 23); *-iti-* reappears in the remainder of this text. This variation complicates the study of the component elements. The reading *peš* (instead of **bir*) is established by the writing *be-eš*, 14.2, 10.

3. In *ḫušaurātu* we have apparently an Akkadianized Hurrian term of unknown

meaning. SMN 2598.1-2 mentions *bu-šu-ú-ru* as some kind of dye. "Dyeing" would not be out of place in the present context.

7. "Provisions" (*sidita*) may be a colloquialism for "ransom." For the interesting form *ittatlatku*, cf. 76.8.

14. *il-ilāni* is shown once again to be coextensive with or, more probably, a part of Arrapha, by the parallelism of this line with line 9; cf. Gadd, p. 85.

36. With *šatu ša šarti* may be compared *I enzu SAL ša šarti*, H II 101-18 (the line is numbered 19 by mistake).

44. The signs following *I TUGŠ* fail to make sense. The last two (AN.ŠAB) may refer to "idols," as they do in a very important passage furnished kindly by Dr. Lacheman: DINGIRMEŠ AN.ŠABMEŠ (for *an-šab/aššab?*), SMN 2855.10. At all events, some valuable type of garment is apparently mentioned here.

61. The force of *i-na ša-lu-uš-mu* (cf. also *i-na š-lu-mu*, line 61) may be that of *summa* in oaths. The noun is clearly non-Akkadian.

66. For the value attached to doors, cf. 1.16, 10.22.

9

Thus Huziri: "Six shekels of purified silver to Peshkilishu I gave, (5) and thus I (spoke), 'to Kushshiharbe give (them) and let him attend to my lawsuit.' One rein-ring (?) (10) of a chariot I gave (in addition); to my lawsuit he did not attend; the six shekels of silver and the chariot rein-ring (?) Peshkilishu kept."

9, 13. *iššir-nu* is apparently the same as *iššurennu* "standard," here perhaps "rein-ring." [The collated text has *gaširnu*, for *gišrennu* = *iššurennu*? Or do we have here a confusion between GİŠ and QA?]

10

Thus Unaya: "One goat Hutiya had given to me; and Giliya seized (it) and marked its neck with his seal; and he seized myself also. And Peshkilishu (5) broke its seal and marked it for Kushshiharbe. Taya son of Araya had been committed to me for three talents of copper. And Peshkilishu by force from among the *taluhlu*-workers removed (him)."

Thus Shumutrama: "Two of my sheep (10) Peshkilishu took away and kept them; my bride he took away and for eleven months in his house he held her imprisoned."

Thus Turari: "Two sheep Peshkilishu took away. The one belonging to the soldiers (10) they released, but mine they kept."

Thus Ipshahalu the weaver: "One sheep Peshkilishu took away and kept; but the sheep belonging to the (other) workers of wool they released."

Thus Arshawā: "I am a resident of Tursha. (20) And Peshkilishu entered my house, tore off my door, and took it away; and my house they robbed."

8. The *taluhli* represent a class of servants; see 23.8. Cf. also SMN 900: *x imēr še'atimēš iprumēš a-na ni-iš bi-ti ša šarrati . . x imēr še'atimēš ipru a-na 18 aššilātimēš ta-lu-uh-li nap̄ḫar x imēr še'āti a-na na-ru-ū ša šarri*. Thus the *t.* are grouped together with the *niš bitī*, with whom they may share the general designation *na-ru-ū* (gen./acc. *na-ri-e*). This term in turn corresponds to the frequent TUR. TURmeš, being evidently a synonym of *šuharū* (pl.). We have here apparently West Semitic *n'r* 'boy' in the sense in which the word is used, e.g., in Gen. 18: 7, Jud. 19: 9, etc. For our *niš bitī* cf. the "men born in the house," Gen. 14: 14.

11-14

These texts are too fragmentary for a connected translation.

14-16. The name TAR-*miya* brings up the vexing question as to the correct reading of the very common onomastic element represented by the first syllable. Without going into details at present, I shall merely call attention to the following: Names beginning with TAR have the same second elements as names beginning with *hiš* (spelled out *hi-iš*); cf. TAR-*miya*; -*tešup*; -*tilla* with *Hiš-miya*; -*tešup*; -*tilla*. On the other hand, no definite identity of any of these pairs can be established by means of common parentage, for all the numerous appearances of each type. Moreover, the reading *tar* is independently confirmed (cf., e.g., *il-TAR-qū*, 1.47), whereas the value *hiš* for TAR lacks similar confirmation in these texts. Nor should the fact be overlooked that the principle of economy would operate in favor of the short sign TAR as against the two long signs TA-AR. To sum up, then, both *hiš* and **tar* may have been independent onomastic elements in Hurrian names; but the possibility that *hiš* alone is the correct reading should not be overlooked.

B. THE ARCHIVES OF TULPUNNAYA

(Nos. 15-45)

The group of thirty-one texts comprising Nos. 15-45 concerns directly or indirectly a woman by the name of Tulpunnaya.¹ Where the exact provenience is indicated, the documents came from Room 120, which formed part of one of the buildings on the mound proper; presumably, the unmarked tablets were unearthed in or near the same room. How private family archives of this type had come to be placed in the mound district of Nuzi, we cannot

¹ Our heroine is not mentioned in any of the texts published up to the present. A woman by the same name figures in H II 116.2, 7, 11. But she has different parents (the space in line 3 is not sufficient for either Sheltunnaya or for Irwisharri) and, what is even more important, her status is that of a debtor. In N 487.3 there is mentioned a certain Taya son of Tulpunnaya. A Tulpunnaya is mentioned also in H I 65.6, a text that is curiously garbled. The name has here the male determinative, but the feminine ending -*naya* and the presence of Akkaya suggest that we are dealing with the same person in both texts.

determine for the time being. The publication of the archaeological results of the Nuzi expedition, which is not likely to be delayed much longer, may furnish the necessary information on this point. It is possible that the family of Tulpunnaya had close official connections; or else, the building in question may have been a private dwelling.

Tulpunnaya was the daughter of a certain Irwisharri and of Sheltunnaya. It is noteworthy that whereas Irwisharri, the father, is mentioned only once (23.4), Sheltunnaya is introduced as the mother of Tulpunnaya in all the remaining texts where descent is indicated at all. The elder woman is mentioned in 34.6 as the principal in a previous business transaction, which shows that the distaff side of this family was prominent for at least two generations. We know that Tulpunnaya was married to a certain Hashuar; but beyond his mention as husband in 15.5 and 16.8, and his probable identity with his namesake of 33.33, where the man's part is wholly a subsidiary one, there are no other indications that the male element was of much consequence in the affairs of this particular family.² To be sure, we know that neither Winnirgi mother of Tehiptilla nor Uzna³ wife of Ennamati (son of Tehiptilla) was content to remain in the background and leave the business management entirely in the hands of her husband; neither did, however, supplant the man in question as was done by Tulpunnaya and apparently also by her mother Sheltunnaya. More remarkable still, even the parties dealing with Tulpunnaya reflect in their composition or by their influence the prominent position of women in the Nuzi society. Thus the woman Shitanka gives away her brother Hanatu to Tulpunnaya in what is a convincing demonstration of sororate rights (No. 23). And it is Hiyarelli wife of Shukrapu, and not her husband, who gives their daughter Halpapusha into "daughtership" to Tulpunnaya's slave-woman Hanate (No. 42). It is evident, then, from the Tulpunnaya texts that the status of women in Nuzi was even more favorable than has been hitherto supposed.⁴

The relative date of the generation of Tulpunnaya can be established with ease. No. 17.17 introduces the well-known Tehiptilla son of Puhishenni as one of the judiciary group known as *halzuphlû*.⁵ Apart from giving us the official status of Tehiptilla, this passage dates the entire group of documents under discussion. The archives of the Tehiptilla family deal primarily with

² In the published texts there are a number of individuals bearing the name of Hashuar. Cf., e.g., N 9.7; 19.21; 447.9 (son of Tarmiya); 461.5 (son of Akipshali); 486.28 (son of Nihriya), et al.

³ For Winnirgi, cf. the unusually inscribed tablet, N 82.27; for new Uzna texts, cf. e.g., 52.2; 60.5; 87.3.

⁴ Cf. Gordon, ZA NF 9.146 ff.

⁵ See note ad loc.

three generations, viz., those of Tehiptilla himself, his son Ennamati, and his grandson Takku. Puhishenni and Winnirgi, the parents of Tehiptilla, are mentioned, to be sure, in several transactions, but such references are mostly in retrospect, so that Tehiptilla's is the first generation that is contemporary with the known Nuzi documents. Tulpunnaya proves thus to belong to the early Nuzi period, in which falls also, as we have seen, the administration of Kushishiharbe. An echo of a still earlier generation is sounded in No. 23 which takes us back to the time when Tulpunnaya's mother was at work in building up the family fortune.

Let us now take a glance at the contents of the Tulpunnaya archives. Although limited in number, the group is fairly representative, so much so that it may serve as a convenient introduction to the varieties of Nuzi legal material for those who have not had previous experience with the Nuzi texts. We find declarations in court introduced by *umma* "thus," or *lišānšū(nu)* "his, her, or their tongue(s)"; adoptions, or, more specifically, sale-adoptions; daughter and daughter-in-law texts, which convey to the adopter or purchaser power over the girl in question; antichretic security (*dītennūtu*)⁶ texts, limited here to personal security and being thus tantamount to records of at least temporary self-enslavement; and finally, lawsuits arising from an alleged breach of this or that contract.

Passing now to a brief consideration of certain specific items, Nos. 15-29 deal with the acquisition by Tulpunnaya of real estate or human chattels. Permanent acquisition of real estate is effected by means of a declaration on the part of the seller (under whatever legal disguise the sale may have taken place; cf. Nos. 15-7, 19), or through the convenient medium of a sale-adoption (18, 21; cf. also 20). Essentially, the two forms are identical, since a declaration conveying immovable property presupposes or implies a sale-adoption. Tulpunnaya seems to have been particularly covetous of the orchards in the city (or village) of Temtena⁷ (cf. 15-17; 19), but her activities extend also to the settlement of Zizza (20-1). In obtaining slave-girls, however, for the purpose of marrying them off, for a price or for their offspring, the process is reversed; this time Tulpunnaya is the adopting party (No. 23). The fate of such an adopted "daughter" is sealed by a specific clause: "(Even) if ten of her husbands have died, in that case to an eleventh she may give her into wifehood" (ibid. lines 12-3). The acquisition of temporary serfs is

⁶ Cf. note at 7.29.

⁷ This name appears here usually with the subject affix -aš; cf. 15.7; 16.5; 17.4; 18.5; 19.6; 32.42. Without this ending we find the name in 28.14; 31.12; 41.5. The masculine personal name Tente (related to Elamite *temti tep/weti* "lord") occurs in 16.6; cf. also Tenteya, 20.1.

recorded in the well-established type of *ditennātu* documents (24-9). But the clause calling for an eventual termination of the slave contract was often merely academic⁶; for according to No. 25, the period of self-enslavement is set at fifty years, and it is doubtful whether the *ditennu* in question lived to celebrate the jubilee.

Nos. 30-3 relate all to a single case. A "daughtership" document (No. 30) places the girl Kisaya in the power of Tulpunnaya. The usual clause about the right of the adopter to marry the girl off at will has not been overlooked. But Kisaya is not without a will of her own. She leaves her mistress and has to be brought back as a result of a court order (No. 33). But her spirit is not broken, for she finds some way to obtain the husband of her own choice instead of the one that Tulpunnaya attempts to force upon her (No. 31). In the end, Kisaya is obliged to declare her son as the property of Tulpunnaya. But the latter has had sufficient proof of Kisaya's independence: to make sure that the declaration will be honored, she cuts off personally Kisaya's hem, the act emphasizing the sanctity of the agreement, instead of allowing her "daughter" to attend to the matter, as was customary in instances of this kind (No. 32).

Nos. 34-5 belong together in that one of the slaves of Tulpunnaya appears in both these texts. The former takes us back to the time of Shultunnaya mother of Tulpunnaya. A certain woman had been given into slavery to Shultunnaya by the father of the deponent. Now the deponent cedes to Tulpunnaya all the offspring of the slave-woman in question. The fact that a declaration to this effect was necessary will be of great interest to the jurists from whom we must await an authoritative interpretation of the legal implications of these documents. At all events, Aripenni, one of the male descendants thus transferred is mentioned in No. 35 as the slave for whose sake Tulpunnaya pays a certain sum to the author of this deposition. In all probability, the payment covers the cost of Aripenni's wife. Finally, Nos. 36-7 deals with other slaves acquired by Tulpunnaya.

We have seen from the litigation with Kisaya (No. 33) that Tulpunnaya's manifold dealings involved her at times in difficulties which the courts were called upon to resolve. Her ruthless methods, as reflected by the statement that a girl might be given to an eleventh husband, if need be (No. 23), or by setting the period of security enslavement at fifty years (No. 25), were no doubt responsible in part for such insurgent manifestations. In Nos. 38-41 we have a group of lawsuits that are not connected with any of the preceding documents. No. 38 presents the interesting case of an *ewuru*-heir who failed

⁶ Cf. Koschaker, *Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wis.* 42.1.90.

to pay off a debt held against the estate of the deceased, incidentally, that debt happened to be adequately secured. No. 39 concerns a dispute over the offspring of one of Tulpunnaya's slaves, a type of litigation in which our heroine was evidently well experienced. In the present instance it is the wife of the slave and her brother who lay claim to the offspring, though to no avail. In No. 40 a Habiru makes an attempt to escape bondage in the house of Tulpunnaya, an effort that was fore-doomed to failure. The fourth and last lawsuit of this particular group affords us a glimpse at another form of Nuzi economy. The precious irrigation water, the use of which was carefully supervised by a special government official, the stream being conducted in canals undoubtedly similar to those used by the modern villagers of the district to this day, had been diverted by another land-owner. The latter is given for his misdirected efforts the standard sentence for civil offenses, viz., a fine of one ox, which was the accepted equivalent of ten shekels of silver.⁹

In the four remaining documents of this series it is the slaves of Tulpunnaya who figure as principals in transactions with outsiders. One of the reasons for our magnate's success was evidently her policy of rewarding servants who were faithful and duly submissive. Nos. 42-4 constitute a virtual replica of the group numbered 30-3, except that the protagonist in the present series is Hanate slave-woman of Tulpunnaya. She acquires a girl "as daughter and daughter-in-law," who thereby becomes a candidate for repeated marriages (No. 42). The phraseology is the same as in No. 30, even down to certain elliptical sentences (cf. 30.12; 42.13); the two documents were drawn up by the same scribe (Urhiya). But when the girl is to be handed over, her parents suffer a change of heart (No. 43), with much the same result as in No. 33. In the next text (No. 44) Hanate hastens to exercise her rights and marries off her "daughter" to one of Tulpunnaya's slaves. Thus the affairs in the microcosm of the servants are patterned slavishly after the model of the mistress' world. No. 45 introduces the afore-mentioned Aripenni, but his precise rôle is obscured for us by the poor condition of the text.

The varied dealings of Tulpunnaya are scarcely exhausted by the available texts in which that enterprising lady appears. They extended apparently over a period of many years. This may be gathered, among other indications, from the fact that Tulpunnaya found it necessary to employ a considerable number of scribes. Their names follow in the order of frequency of employment, the number of tablets written by each of them being given in a parenthesis: Urhiya (seven); Shershiya and Sin-iqisha (four each); Nabū-ilu (three); Nabū-nāšir and Shamash-ilu-rēšhtū (two each); Amurriya, Ithapihe,

⁹ This value has been established by Cross, MPND, under "Cattle."

Shumu-libshī, and Sin-iddin(nam) (one apiece). On three tablets the names of the scribes are missing.

It would be interesting to follow the history of the house of Sheltunnaya through several subsequent generations. In the case of her contemporary Puhishenni, father of Tehiptilla, the records enable us to trace this particular family saga down to the time of Takku, who lived to see his estate and the kingdom to which it belonged ransacked by the Assyrians.¹⁰ Whether the house of Sheltunnaya and Tulpunnaya followed along parallel lines, we are unable to tell at present, for later records are not available. But this condition is probably accidental. The sequel to the history of Tulpunnaya may yet turn up among the unpublished tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum. Or did the lady die without issue, the fortune amassed in the course of a very busy life being split up among a number of indirect heirs? An answer to this question would prove exceedingly interesting and instructive.

15

The tongue of Watwa son Tabsharri in the presence of the judges spoke as follows: "Tulpunnaya (5) the wife of Hashuar I adopted. An orchard above Temtenash, bordering on the orchard of Wantishshe, its length twenty (*puridu*?), on the long side, and its width (10) seven *puridu*, to Tulpunnaya I have given. And Tulpunnaya to me one bow as my reward has given. If the orchard has a claimant, (15) then I alone shall clear (it)." From this day on Watwa on account of the orchard shall not raise claims against Tulpunnaya.

(20-9) Signature of Nabū-ilu the scribe, and three seals.

2. I normalize *Tabsharri* instead of *Tāb-sharri* inasmuch as the Semitic character of the first element is questionable.

5. Only here and in 16.8 does Tulpunnaya appear as the wife of Hashuar. In all the remaining Tulpunnaya texts she is introduced as the daughter of Sheltunnaya. A certain Hashuar (the name is perhaps related to *Hašmar*) is mentioned in 33.33; but his position is obscure and it is not entirely clear for which side he is appearing; cf. ad loc. Hashuar figures also in the as yet unpublished SAL.LUGAL texts in some official capacity (e.g., SMN 3380.14); his identity with our Hashuar is entirely probable.

5-6. The phrase *ana mārāti epēku* is used here (and in the following texts) in the general sense of "adopt," regardless of the sex of the adopted. A literal translation "to make into sonship" would be incongruous with the woman Tulpunnaya as beneficiary.

8 ff. The scribe seems to confuse his general and his specific terms for length measures. After *murāku* "length" we expect the measure in question (in this case *puridu*)

¹⁰ Cf. JAOS 47.56 ff. and N 525.

to be given after the numeral, but we find instead *sí-it-tí*, evidently from *šiddu* "long side, flank," i. e., a virtual synonym of the former word. The translation attempts to make sense with the text as it stands. As regards *pu-ri-ti*, it has been assumed here that the writing represents *puridu*, perhaps "leg." In 22.4 ff. *šiddu* is followed by *šépu* (written GÍR) "foot." But we expect some larger unit than the foot inasmuch as *ammātu* "cubit" occurs in the same passage as a measure that is clearly smaller than *šépu*. The net result of this timid venture into Nuzi metrology may be summed up as follows: By the side of *ammātu* "cubit" (which occurs, incidentally, in some wholly unorthodox connections, such as *ša 2 ammati ú malūti* applied to slaves; cf. at 63.5), there was in Hurrian Arrapha a larger unit based on the length of the leg and rendered either as *šépu* or as *puridu* (for the latter cf. N 74.7 f.). For Nuzi metrology in general see Cross, MPND, ad loc.

14. The literal meaning of *šumma* is "assuming, given that." I have used "if" throughout to avoid that cumbersome, though more exact, rendering. The conditional clause may be indicated, however, without any particle; cf. e. g., x DAM-za BA.UG.MES: "(if) her first husband should die," etc., 30.9 ff.; see also 42.10 ff.

19. The legal phrase for "raise claims against someone" is represented in these texts by the vivid *ina arki X šasū* "shout after (or behind) someone," instead of the familiar Babylonian *ragāmu* "call, shout." For an exact parallel to this Nuzi clause in Egyptian documents, cf. San-Nicolò, *Schlussklauseln* 173 note 83.

22. Note that Teshshuya (cf. 16.20; 41.23), one of the judges, is a *mār šarri*.

16

The tongues of Shennaka, of Arshanta, and of Aripsharri, sons of Ennamati, before the judges spoke as follows: (5) "An *awēharu* of orchard in 'Temtenash bordering on the orchard of Tente, as her reward to 'Tulpunnaya wife of Hashuar we have given. If the orchard which we have given (10) has a claimant, then we shall clear (it)." From this day on the three brothers, sons of Ennamati, on account of this orchard (15) against 'Tulpunnaya shall not raise any complaints.

(17-20) Signature of Nabū-ilu the scribe, and three seals.

5. For *maia*, cf. note at 3.24.

17

The tongue of Naisheri son of Naltuya before the *halzuḫlū* spoke as follows: "One *imēr* of land in 'Temtenash (5) bordering on the land of Irrushsa to 'Tulpunnaya I have given and have adopted her. If the land has a claimant, (10) then I shall clear (it)." On this day (and on) Naisheri concerning the one *imēr* of land shall not raise any claims against 'Tulpunnaya.

(15-18) Signature of Nabū-ilu the scribe, and three seals.

17. The appearance of Tehiptilla son of Puhisheuni as one of the three officials before whom the deposition is made is very significant. It establishes Tulpunnaya directly

as a contemporary of Tehiptilla, thus dating the present group of documents to the first active generation introduced in the Nuzi documents. Moreover, Tehiptilla proves to have been an important official, a *ḫalzuḫlu*, to judge from line 3; this position is linked with the judiciary by the fact that the officials in question are occasionally described as judges (cf. e.g., 15.21 for Tarmiya) and, furthermore, by the common *ina pāni dayāni ā ina pāni ḫalzuḫlu*, with which the depositions are frequently introduced. In SMN 604.3 mention is made of the woman Tarmennaya who is described as a princess (SAL.LUGAL), daughter of Tehiptilla. It is very probable that the Tehiptilla in question is the well known son of Puhishenni. These connections coupled with our knowledge of the acquisitiveness and power of Tehiptilla provide a valuable commentary on contemporary social conditions.

18

Document of adoption of ¹Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya; and Hurpishenni son of Hashiya (5) adopted (her). One *aweḫaru* of orchard in ²Temtenash, bordering on the orchard of Hapurshi son of Puhishenni, to Tulpunnaya he gave in adopting (her). If the orchard has (10) a claimant, that orchard he shall clear. The one that breaks the contract (shall furnish) one mina of silver (and) one mina of gold. And ¹Tulpunnaya as reward two sheep, one shekel of purified silver, and one *imēr* of barley to Hurpishenni has paid.

(15-25) Ten witnesses, including Nabū-nāṣir, the scribe. Each of the first four is termed "surveyor (*la-mu*) of the orchard." (26) These are the surveyors. (27-30) Seals of Hurpishenni, "the owner of the orchard," Gilipsharri, "the witness," the scribe, and Arteya. (30-2) If Hurpishenni breaks the contract, one mina of silver (and) one mina of gold he shall pay.

The penalty clause is repeated on the edge (lines 30 ff.), this time being applied specifically to Hurpishenni. Not counting the scribe, only two of the nine witnesses are represented also by their seals, and neither of them is designated specifically as a *lāmu* (*mušketu*). Gilipsharri alone is identified as a witness proper (*šibu*).

19

The tongue of Irwisharri son of Tabsharri before the *ḫalzuḫlu* spoke as follows: "(As for) ¹Tulpunnaya, Irwisharri (5) adopted her. A full *kumanu* of orchard in ²Temtenash, situated where the orchard of Wan . . ., to ¹Tulpunnaya (I gave). And two sheep, eight minas of copper . . (10) to me she gave. If the orchard has a claimant, (Irwisharri shall clear (it) and restore to ¹Tulpunnaya). From this day on (15) (Irwisharri against) ¹Tulpunnaya shall not raise any claims."

(19-22) Signature of Ithapihe the scribe, and three seals.

The three *halsubla* of this document are the same as in No. 17.

20

The lands of Tenteya, the upper orchard which borders the orchard of Inā-abi, belonging to 'Yalampa, and the buildings of Shennaya (5) in the heart of 'Zizza, those lands, that orchard, and those buildings, in consideration therefor, 'Yalampa was adopted. And now (10) 'Yalampa to 'Tulpunnaya has given (them).

(12-27) Eleven witnesses, including Turari, the scribe. Seals of four of the above and of 'Yalampa.

3. The name Yalampa is known as that of a slave-girl from H I 23.3; 59.17; 67.35.

7-9. *ana annūti ana mārūti ēpšet* is a perfectly clear statement of the purpose of sale-adoptions.

23 ff. Since this document is not an official deposition in court, the seals do not represent judges, but merely some of the witnesses.

21

Document of adoption of Huipapu son of Shurakka; and 'Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya he adopted. One *kumanu* and half a *hararnu* of orchard in 'Zizza above the (5) *gigirubbi* [...], to the north of the orchard of Ahuya, Huipapu as her inheritance share to 'Tulpunnaya gave. And 'Tulpunnaya one ox four (years old) as his reward to Huipapu gave. (10) If there is a claim against the orchard, then that orchard Huipapu shall clear and to 'Tulpunnaya he shall restore (it). If Huipapu breaks the contract and raises claims about the orchard, then that orchard (15) 'Tulpunnaya shall retain as heretofore and Huipapu shall pay as fine fivefold the value of the orchard and shall deliver (it) to 'Tulpunnaya in 'Zizza. The copper cubit which (is) in the gate of the City of the Gods, the measurements of (that) copper cubit they have taken (20) and shall measure the orchard (according to it).

(21-44) Twelve witnesses, including Sin-iqisha the scribe. Seals of the above.

4. For *kumanu*, cf. note to 65.8; the present passage shows that *hararnu* was a subdivision of *kumanu*.

15. The phrase *kimē x-ma x* obviously indicates definite approval of the status quo. Cf. 32.2. The force approaches that of the Hebrew infinite absolute.

18 ff. We have here the valuable indication that a standard measure unit, made of copper, was kept in the gate of the City of the Gods, the religious and administrative center of the city (and country) of Arrapha. Cf. also the following text, line 11.

22

Document of adoption of A[...]; and 'Tulpunnaya daughter of She[...]-tunnaya he adop]ted. An orchard forty-seven (feet) on its long side, [at its upper end,] forty-three feet also on the long side, at its lower end, (5) seven feet and two cubits long at its northern end, nine feet and two cubits long at its southern end, these are the measurements of the orchard; to the south of the orchard of Tesh[...], on the canal of Katane (10) at its northern side; the measurements of the copper cubit which is in the gate of '[...] they took and measured the orchard; (this) [A...] as her inheritance share to (15) 'Tulpunnaya gave. And ['Tulpunnaya]

(17-26) The names of ten witnesses are preserved, including that of Sin-iqīsha the scribe.

(26-7) These are the witnesses who surveyed the orchard and in whose presence the payment was made.

(28-39 and 41) Thirteen seals.

(40) This tablet was written after the proclamation.

3 ff. For *šidu* and *šepu* cf. 15.8 ff. All the terms for the points of the compass have in this text the ending -*anu*. "Above" and "below" are, doubtless, east and west respectively, as was suggested by Gadd, p. 87; the district of Kirkuk is bounded by mountains on the east side; cf. also, Gordon in *RA* 31.101 ff. The ending -*ššu* is certainly unidiomatic in the present context.

27. The details of the *kaspu* are lost owing to the break following line 15.

23

Document of daughtership of 'Shitanka daughter of Hābildamqu; now herself and her brother Hanatu son of Hābildamqu into daughtership to 'Tulpunnaya daughter of Irwisharri he gave. (5) And 'Tulpunnaya will give away 'Shitanka into wifehood. If 'Tulpunnaya is so inclined, she may give her to a slave, and if she is so inclined he may give her to a *taluhlu*, and, likewise, if 'Tulpunnaya (10) is so inclined, she may make 'Shitanka into a harlot; but as long as 'Tulpunnaya is alive she shall feed her. If ten of her husbands have died, in that case to an eleventh into wifehood she shall give her. If 'Shitanka should break the agreement (15) and leave the house of 'Tulpunnaya, two minas of gold to 'Tulpunnaya she shall pay. And if Shitanka should cause her brother Hanatu to leave the house of 'Tulpunnaya, the conditions are the same.

(19-39) Fourteen witnesses, including Shershiya, the scribe. Seven seals.

We are faced here with the problem of a woman giving her brother into adoption. While fratriarchal rights are amply attested in our texts (cf. Koschaker, *Fratriarchat*

in ZA NF VII), we have had so far no such indication of sororate rights. The present document, however, reflects such a situation (cf. especially the clause in lines 17 f.). To be sure, No. 24 shows the young man in question as a *dītennu* of Tulpunnaya, to whom he had been given by his father. But this scarcely invalidates the implications of the text that is before us.

The remaining questions are primarily linguistic. They will be cited in the order of their occurrence.

1. In place of the usual *mārātu* "sonship," applying to women as well as to men, we have this time *mārātu* "daughtership" applied to the brother of Tulpunnaya and to herself. More is involved, however, than mere confusion in terminology. Whereas *mārātu* may serve to designate sale-adoption, a *mārtu* is a daughter and concubine, in a state of virtual slavery. Now Hanatu is deeded to Tulpunnaya as a *dītennu*, which amounts to the same thing.

For Hābil-damqu cf. the writing *Ḫa-bil-ta-an-ga*, 24.1; according to 42.43 he was a gardener. For the same initial element (meaning evidently "one who captures") cf. *Ḫa-bi-il-ki-it-tā*, N 516.18. The final element is paralleled in spelling by *Ta-an-ki-ya*, H II 109.3, and *Damqaga-ya*, *ibid.* 45; cf. also *Dam-ki-ya* father of Zi-(ik)-ku-ur-ta, H I 100.30, and *Ta-ki-ya* father of *dSin-GIŠ.SAG.KUL* (*Zikkurta*), H II 98.36.

4. Irwisharri father of Tulpunnaya is introduced as such only here. In the other texts of this group Tulpunnaya indicates her descent on the maternal side, i. e. from Sheltunnaya. This name occurs with the feminine determinative in 34.6. Cf. also the case of *Ḫisaya* who is the daughter of *Ḫarimmatka* (No. 31) and of *Ariya* (No. 32). As for the ending *-naya*, we have here clearly a feminine element. Cf. e. g., *Ḫashunnaya*, 34.3, and especially (not to list here the numerous other instances from previously published texts) *Ḫammīnae/ya*, who figures in the important letter of Saushshatar, King of Maiteni/Mitanni (H II 1), and is also known as a queen (*SAL.LUGAL*), according to an unpublished text (SMN 2662) transliterated by Dr. Lacheman.

7 ff. The term *nāḫiḫ* instead of the customary *ḫāḫiḫ* or *ḫāḫi/ḫ* is puzzling. The sense is obviously the same, but the use of the verb in this connotation is unorthodox, to say the least. The nearest that one can come to it is through the idea of "bounty," which is admittedly far-fetched. The adverbial ending would favor the reading *na-ḫi-iḫ*, but the value *ḫ* of the sign *Ḫ* is not otherwise known in the Nuzi texts.

8. For *LOtaḫḫu* cf. 10.8 and the note ad hoc. The term is apparently equivalent to "one of the *nāḫiḫ* biti."

12. The summation "if ten husbands should die, the girl may be given to an eleventh" is certainly carrying the thing to an academic extreme. Other texts of this nature provide for as many as four marriages (cf. Nos. 30 and 42); the present clause makes sure that the girl will bear future slaves as long as she is capable of doing so, regardless of the mortality among her respective mates.

24

A *dītennu* document. Hābil-damqa gave his son Hanatu to *Ḫ*Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya into *dītennātu*. And *Ḫ*Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya one slave to Hābil-damqu has given. Ten years she shall retain (him). When one slave to *Ḫ*Tulpunnaya he has returned, then his son Hanatu he shall take back.

(9-32) Seventeen witnesses, including Nabū-nāšir, the scribe. Seven seals, being respectively those of Hābil-damqa, the scribe, and five of the above witnesses, each of whom is designated as a *šibu*.

For another assignment of the same Hanatu to Tulpunnaya, which was made by the sister of the present *dītennu*, see the preceding text.

1. The second element of the personal name was expressed in the preceding tablet by means of the ideogram SIG₇ (*damqu*); here it is spelled out *ta-an-ga*.

9. The name *Isnzi-mašhu* is a good Kassite compound meaning "The King is God," or perhaps "King is God."

25

Document of *dītennātu* of Arilu son of (?); for *dītennātu* into the houses of ¹Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya he caused himself to enter. (5) Ten *imēr* of barley, one ox, one sheep, 2 *tallu* of sesame oil, and one cloth Arilu received from the household of ¹Tulpunnaya. In exchange for these goods he shall remain on the estate of ¹Tulpunnaya for fifty years. On the day when (10) those years have expired, Arilu shall return to the estate of ¹Tulpunnaya the goods (listed) in this tablet, and shall go away.

Thus Arilu: "To Kurpari for the King's payment they have assigned me, and (15) I the money from ¹Tulpunnaya have received and given to Kurpari." And thus Kurpari: "As for the remainder of the money due on (that) payment, to ¹Tulpunnaya I have assigned (it)." Arilu [...] (20) Ehliteshup [...] Arilu [...] If Kurpari complains, he shall pay a fine of one mina of silver (and) one mina of gold to Tulpunnaya. Seal of Utiya.

(25-49) Nineteen witnesses, including Tilammu the scribe. Six seals.

This security document is unusual in that the time of fifty years is not equaled or approached elsewhere. That the figure is not an error for five, however, is shown by the amount involved. One ox alone had a standard value of ten shekels (cf. Cross, MPND, under "Cattle"), to which are to be added ten *imēr* of barley, a cloth, and some sesame oil, all being costly commodities. With the outright price of slaves averaging thirty shekels, it is clear that the goods specified in this text are far in excess of the normal value of a *dītennu* for five years.

The reason for this exceptional debt is indicated in the declaration of Kurpari, to whom the amount had been transferred after Arilu had failed to make a payment imposed by the government. From the fact that the assessment is described as *ṣētu* "gift, bribe" (reading *ṣt* for *ki*) it is manifest that the amount represents some kind of fine.

21-2. This part of the tablet is damaged and the context is consequently obscure. The names listed here and in line 24 seem out of place inasmuch as the witnesses and the seals are given on the reverse.

26

Document of *ditennātu* of Puhishenni son of Waradginu; now himself into *ditennātu* the house of 'Tulpunnaya he caused to enter. (5) And 'Tulpunnaya eleven *imēr* of barley by the measure of the tax-payments for *ditennātu* to Puhishenni has given. Whenever the eleven *imēr* of barley (10) Puhishenni to 'Tulpunnaya has returned, then himself he shall have freed.

(13-33) Thirteen witnesses including Shershiya the scribe. Eight seals.

6. For the *sātu ša* HAR.RA cf. Deimel SL 401.22.

13. Note the writing *kica-* for the customary *kipa-*.

21. Uṭṭapshenni is called LUMUŠEN.DU (the latter sign is written like NI), i.e. *uṣandū* (cf. LÜ-*ša-an-du*, H I 55.9) "bird catcher," or perhaps here also "poulterer." For the presence of chickens at Nuzi see N 496.4 (*kurka*).

27

Document of *ditennātu* (of) Taena son of Ukari; his father Ukari gave him to 'Tulpunnaya into *ditennātu* for six years. (5) And 'Tulpunnaya one *imēr* of barley gave to Ukari. And when the six years have expired, one *imēr* of barley Ukari to 'Tulpunnaya shall return and his son (10) he shall take back. And if Taena should depart for a single day from the work of 'Tulpunnaya, Ukari shall have to pay to 'Tulpunnaya one mina of copper for each day as compensation for him. (15) And 'Tulpunnaya shall provide Taena with food and wool for clothing.

(17-41) Thirteen witnesses. Nine seals, including that of Urhiya the scribe.

10 ff. One mina of copper is the normal compensation in such cases. In H I 40.17 we find instead 1 *sātu* (= 10 SILA or *gā*) of barley, which is known as the compensation for hired labor (though in a different connection) from the Sumerian Family Laws; cf. now Oppenheim, *Mietrecht* (Beihefte zur WZKM 2) 36 ff.

28

Ten *imēr* of barley belonging to 'Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya, to Taya son of Artamuzi she gave. And Taya his son Artirwa (5) for twenty years into *ditennātu* to 'Tulpunnaya gave. When the twenty years have expired, ten *imēr* of barley Taya to 'Tulpunnaya shall return and his son he shall take back. (10) At the time when the four cloud men(?) have been making the journey(?) of the Storm-god of the Cities, at this time this tablet is being written. The tablet was written after the proclamation in front of the gate of 'Temtena.

(15-36) Twelve witnesses, including Šin-iqīsha the scribe. Ten seals.

This ordinary security document, in so far as its legal contents are concerned, is nevertheless of unusual interest on account of its date formula. The passage in question is defective and the precise allusion as well as the detailed interpretation must remain obscure. But the mention of the storm-god (line 11) favors our taking the preceding *ú-ru-ba-du* as "clouds" (i.e. *ur(u)pátu*). In that case the LÜ... *u* would be something like "rainmakers." "To take the road (if *gerru* was actually in the text) of the Storm-god of the Cities" would be a reference to a definite ritual performed in times of exceptionally severe drought. Cf. also the "work of the storm-god," H I 104.17. For a modern rain ritual see Frankfort in Iraq I 137-45.

3. *Ar-tamuzi* is a combination of a Hurrian element and a southern deity; and example of the converse combination is *Teshup-nirari*, cf., e.g., 54.24.

10 and 12. *útu á inanna* is a rather awkward date construction; more idiomatic is *šuntu á ina ámišá*, N 46.23-4.

29

The tongue of Shukteshup the weaver spoke in the presence of witnesses: "I am a *dītennu* of ¹Tulpunnaya, (5) and there is no one to go bail for me. So of my free will I have cast myself in bondage." And thus (further) Shukteshup: (10) "If on account of the bondage I should complain [against] ¹Tulpunnaya, [...] one mina of silver to ¹Tulpunnaya I shall pay as fine."

(15-39) Sixteen witnesses including Wantiya, the merchant from ¹Ulamme, and Urhiya the scribe. Seven seals.

We have here a formal statement concerning the transition from the status of a *dītennu* to that of a slave proper. The change is called voluntary by the declarer, though lack of the necessary funds is given as the ultimate reason. That in practice many of the *dītennūtu* contracts entailed a similar fate may be taken for granted. The debtor who gave up his freedom for fifty years (No. 25), or even for twenty (No. 28), could scarcely have any hope of ever becoming free again; cf. also Koschaker, Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. 42.1.90.

7. *šeršeretu* lit. "chains." If this interpretation is correct, the semantic development of this word would parallel almost exactly that of our "bondage." At all events, *š* appears in this text in a sense new to the Akkadian lexicon; that the word is Hurrian is far less probable.

30

Document of daughtership and daughter-in-lawship of ¹Hashimmatka; ¹Kisaya the daughter of ¹Arimmatka, according to (her) word and declaration (lit. mouth and tongue) (?), ¹Kisaya (5) into daughtership and daughter-in-lawship to ¹Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya she gave. And ¹Tulpunnaya shall give ¹Kisaya into wifehood to whomever from among her slaves she chooses. If her first husband should die, to another man she will give her; (10) if the second man should die, to a third man she will give her; if the third

man should die, to a fourth man she will give her; if the fourth man should die (and so forth). And the belongings of 'Kisaya (shall become the property) of 'Tulpunnaya. And as long as 'Kisaya is alive (15) the house of 'Tulpunnaya she may not leave. And the complete money for 'Kisaya in accordance with the payment for wives(?) (bought) from 'Tulpunnaya, shall be paid. If 'Kisaya breaks the agreement and leaves the house of 'Tulpunnaya, one mina of silver and one mina of gold to (20) 'Tulpunnaya she shall pay as fine.

(21-47) Twenty witnesses, including Urhiya the scribe. Seven seals.

This is the first of four texts concerning the dealings of Tulpunnaya with Hashimmatka and her daughter Kisaya. That the girl did not prove to be a docile slave is shown in the next document and also in No. 33.

1. For *kallātu* see now Gordon, ZA NF 9.152 f.

4. The reading *pi-šu* (the text appears to have *pi-EN-šu*) is not certain, but it is favored by the following *li-ša-an-šu*; cf. also 33.10.

12. Something like KI. MIN has been omitted after the final *imātāt*; see also 42.13.

17. The end of the line, which runs over to the reverse is not entirely clear and the translation is in part conjectural. For the opposite situation cf. No. 35.

31

The tongue of 'Kisaya before these witnesses to 'Tulpunnaya spoke as follows: "Why to Mannuya the *upputu* (5) into wifehood have you given me? Remove me from Mannuya and give me to Arteya son of Awishkipa into wifehood." And this her declaration 'Kisaya (10) to Arteya son of Awishkipa into wifehood gave. And in the entrance of the gate of 'Temtena the transfer was verily made and her word was made binding to the effect that 'Kisaya (15) was given to Arteya into wifehood.

(16-31) Names of seven witnesses are preserved in part, including that of Shershiya the scribe. Ten seals.

In view of the contract recorded in the preceding the legal basis for Kisaya's present action is puzzling.

4. The meaning of *upputu* (or *ubbutu*) is obscure. That the word designates an occupation is proved by a passage kindly supplied by Dr. Lacheman: *3 imēr še'a a-na 2 LÜ MESluš-bu-tum ša šN*, SMN 3406.17-9. If this term is cognate with the *LÜe-pu-ú* of SMN 3158.10, the meaning may be "baker." Would the LÖMU have to be read in these texts *epā* instead of *nuḫatimmu*?

13. With *lu šu-ti-iq* (cf. *lu šu-ti-iq*, also with *awāta rakāsu*, 57.9), *ḫukannu* is evidently to be understood, the entire phrase "passing the staff" being descriptive of a symbolical action signifying among other things the transfer of slaves; cf. San Nicolò, *Schlussklauseln* 24 f.

32

Thus 'Kisaya daughter of Ariya (and) wife of Arteya, the slave-girl of 'Tulpunnaya: "As for my son Inziteshup (5) (whom) I bore to Arteya, now to 'Tulpunnaya I (!) have given (him)." And 'Tulpunnaya has cut off the hem of 'Kisaya. (10) If 'Kisaya breaks the agreement (and) raises claims against 'Tulpunnaya concerning Inziteshup, 'Tulpunnaya shall retain Inziteshup as heretofore (15) and 'Kisaya shall furnish to 'Tulpunnaya ten Lullu women.

(17-39; 44) Fourteen witnesses. Eleven seals including that of Sin-idin the scribe.

(40-3) After the proclamation this tablet in front of the gate of 'Temtenash was written.

1. In this tablet we find the name of Kisaya's father instead of the usual indication of descent from her mother.

8. The symbol whereby the contract is guaranteed is described here as the act of *sisiktu batāqu* (for the phrase, cf. Koschaker NKRA 24). Elsewhere in the Nuzi texts *ganna mašāru* is used in the same connection; cf. NKRA 20 and Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. 42.1.16 note 3. Ordinarily, the act is performed by the party entering into obligation. Here, however, it is Tulpunnaya who cuts off the hem of Kisaya's garment in order to keep it as the symbol of the woman's personal guarantee that her son will not be withheld from Tulpunnaya; for this significance of the *sisiktu*, cf. Koschaker, *ibid.* 112 f. The two phrases as such are strictly parallel, and the question may be raised again as to the meaning of *mašāru*. Landsberger (in NKRA 20; cf. now also Koschaker, ZA NF 9.198) derives the verb from Delitzsch's *mašāru I* in the sense of "leave the impression of (the hem)," rather than "cut." The verb has nothing to do, of course, with *mašāru* "leave" (with *i*-preterit). But we have seen that *mašāru* occurs in these texts as a synonym of *palābu* "cut," cf. note at 1.42. Now since our texts say nothing about applying the *ganna* to the tablet, it would be simplest to translate the verb as "cut off," regarding it as parallel with *batāqu*.

14. For *kime ukālma ukāl*, cf. 21.15.

33

'Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya with 'Hashimmatka and 'Kisaya (5) in a lawsuit before the judges appeared. And the witnesses of 'Tulpunnaya spoke before the judges as follows: "Now both 'Hashimmatka (10) and her daughter 'Kisaya, their (!) tongues gave 'Kisaya to 'Tulpunnaya into daughtership and daughter-in-lawship. And 'Tulpunnaya was to give 'Kisaya (15) as wife at will. Thus 'Tulpunnaya, if it pleased her, might give (her) away as wife (and) if her first husband died, to another man she could give (her); if the second man died, to a third man she could give (her); (20) if the third man died, to a fourth man she could give her. The house of 'Tul-

punnaya she ('Kisaya) was not to leave." Tayuki son of Hanikuya (25) Wurtaya son of Hanukaya, Uthaptae son of Tupkiya, Shennaya son of Tesh-shuya, Hanaya son of Enishtae, Tupkiya son of Rimusharri, (30) her six witnesses, were examined before the judges. And the judges deputies and Hashuar together with his witnesses dispatched to take the oath of the gods. From (35) the gods 'Hashimmatka and 'Kisaya shrank. In the lawsuit 'Tulpunnaya prevailed and 'Kisaya she got back.

(39-44) Signature of Shamash-ilu-rēshtū and four seals.

The declaration on which are based the claims of the present plaintiff was incorporated in the *mārtātu* document that introduces the Tulpunnaya-Kisaya group (No. 30). In our translation the clauses concerning continual remarriage have been rendered this time in the past tense.

9 ff. The scribe became involved here with too many conjunctions. The general meaning is, of course, clear from the context and confirmed by No. 30. But the exact wording that was intended is doubtful owing to the scribe's difficulty with Akkadian. A literal translation "And 'Hashimmatka and his (!) daughter of 'Kisaya and his (!) tongue" would not have been of much help. Discarding confusion of gender as commonplace in these documents, we should still be obliged to consider some daughter of Kisaya as co-defendant in this suit, which is not the case at all. Finally, there is a question as to whose "tongue placed 'Kisaya as daughter and bride of 'Tulpunnaya." A semblance of order can be attained if the pronominal suffix after *lišān-* is regarded as yet another instance of confusing the singular for the plural.

24-33. All six witnesses listed here are found among those given at the conclusion of No. 30. Hashuar is known to us as the husband of Tulpunnaya (No. 15). It would appear that he had some part (and evidently a secondary one) in the business affairs of his wife. The mention of Hashuar's own witnesses is interesting. Does it indicate that of the nineteen (not counting the scribe) who are listed in No. 30, a number represented the interests of Hashuar?

38. The derivation and consequent meaning of *i-du-ra* have not been cleared up beyond all doubt. Owing to the notorious indifference of the Nuzi writers to any distinction (in writing at least) between voiced and voiceless stops, the choice lies between *tāru* "return" and *adāru* "fear," or "be troubled." The former interpretation is favored by the unambiguous writing in the Assyrian Laws (col. III 10, and ff.). But "return" causes difficulties in that the candidates for trial by ordeal or by oath, to whom the verb in question is applied, are known not to have submitted to the trial (the usual phrase is "did not consent to go"); for references cf. now Driver-Miles, *Assyrian Laws* xxiii notes 2 and 5, and p. 91. Now since one cannot literally "return" without ever having gone, Gadd and some later translators (including the present one) have been deriving the word from *adāru*, in spite of the Assyrian parallels; Gadd's translation "shrink from" (Gadd 106 line 31) has seemed particularly apt. Lately, a new interpretation of *tāru* ("to return before the actual trial") has been proposed by Driver-Miles, *op. cit.* 99 f. Less involved would be "to turn back on," which is favored by such passages as N. 326.16-9: *ā a-na ilāniMEŠ na-še-e la im-gur iš-tu ilāniMEŠ X iḏ-du-ra* "and to take the oath of the gods he would not consent; from the gods X turned back." For unless we take *iḏ-du-ra* "be shrank" to be a reason for not consenting to go through with the trial, the sequence will favor "turn back." In a final

analysis, the sense is close to that of *adāru*; the derivation seems to be from *tāru*, with a possibility that the Nuzi scribes confused the homophonous preterits of the two verbs.

34

The tongue of Hanaya son of Tenteya before witnesses spoke: "My father Tenteya 'Hashunnaya (5) formerly to 'Sheltunnaya as slave-girl gave. And now 'Hinzuri, 'Asuli, 'Papaya, and Aripenni, these four persons who are available, (10) the offspring of 'Hashunnaya, together with their own offspring to 'Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya as male and female slaves I have assigned. And any (15) other descendants of 'Hashunnaya who are not available (at present), I have assigned them herewith to the said 'Tulpunnaya." And five *imēr* of barley, one *imēr* of emmer, fifty *qā* of wheat, one cover, two sheep, and four *qā* of oil 'Tulpunnaya to Hanaya as the price for these persons gave. If these persons (20) who (are mentioned) in this tablet have a claimant, Hanaya shall clear them and restore to 'Tulpunnaya. And if these persons, the offspring of Hashunnaya, (25) leave [the house] of 'Tulpunnaya, Hanaya shall clear them and return them to 'Tulpunnaya. [If] Hanaya breaks the agreement four persons [he shall furnish]. [If Hanaya] should raise claims [against] Tulpunnaya, (30) *x* talent(sic!) of silver he shall pay as fine. (Break)

(32-63) Twenty-two witnesses, including Urhiya the scribe. Ten seals.

6. This mention of the mother of Tulpunnaya as an active business woman tends to show that in this family the distaff side had been prominent also during the preceding generation. Incidentally, this reference carries us back to a Nuzi period from which contemporary documents seem to be lacking. The time would correspond to that of Puhishenni father of Tehiptilla.

8. The name *Arip-enni* combines the Hurrian elements for "give" and "god," and furnishes thus a partial parallel to names like Nathaniel or Theodor.

9. *NAM.LÚ.LÚ.MEŠ (nišātu)* is here used for "domestics" regardless of sex.

26. *usakkāšunūti* is apparently an error for some other verb.

30. The poor condition of the text at this point leaves us in doubt as to whether the staggering fine of *x* talent(s) of silver was actually intended.

35

The tongue of Kip[...] son of Wantishshe before witnesses [spoke]: "The *teḥampašši*-money (5) of Aripenni from 'Tulpunnaya [I have received] and have declared (the transaction) completed (?). From this day on, concerning the *teḥampašši*-money (10) of Aripenni against 'Tulpunnaya I shall not raise claims."

(14-34) Fifteen witnesses, including Urhiya the scribe. Six seals.

4. In this line and in line 9 we find in *teḫampašḫi* a new term used with silver. Closely related to it, in view of the identical final elements, must be the *šurampašḫi* of 54.16. The latter type of money is obtained in a marriage agreement. In the present text the t.-silver is paid by Tulpunnaya in the name of one of her slaves (cf. No. 34.8), apparently for a wife.

36

Thus "[...]niya daughter of Naniya: "Wanimpi my slave-girl for a slave-girl to 'Tulpunnaya I gave. (Now) Shukriya I have added (5) and to 'Tulpunnaya I have given." At any time when Shukriya wishes to leave the house of 'Tulpunnaya, one sound person from the Lullu country (10) [...] in his stead "[...]niya shall deliver [and Shukriya she will] free. (A large portion destroyed)

(14-19) Six seals.

37

Mushteya son of Arillumti and Arpihe son of Mushteya for a price their servant Dūr-mardi to (5) 'Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya have given. And 'Tulpunnaya two *imēr* 24 *qā* of barley, one ox, and one talent of copper (10) to Mushteya and to his son Arpihe has given. If Dūr-mardi has a claimant, (15) Mushteya and Arpihe shall clear (him) and restore to 'Tulpunnaya. And if Dūr-mardi they do not clear, (20) then two men who are as capable as Dūr-mardi, from the Lullubian country, to 'Tulpunnaya they shall furnish. If Mushteya and his son (25) break the agreement, they shall pay double the money that they have been given (and) one mina of silver and one mina of gold they shall pay to Tulpunnaya (in addition).

(29-48) Fourteen witnesses, including Shamash-ilu-rēshtū the scribe. Six seals.

3. Dūr-mardi may represent perhaps Dūr-Amurri by the not unusual process of "phonetizing" the ideogram; cf. AK.Ki-Ia, 59.39.

31. Akapshenni has the professional title of *LÚma-ru-zu*. Does it mean "confectioner"?

38

'Tulpunnaya with Uthapshe son of Kaliya [in a lawsuit] before the judges appeared. (5) Thus 'Tulpunnaya: "Tae son of Aqawatil his son Tillaya into *ditennūtu* against one slave and against twelve sheep (10) to me gave. And subsequently Tae died and Uthapshe became heir." And the judges Uthapshe (15) questioned: "Did Tae [give] his son Tillaya into *ditennūtu* [to 'Tulpunnaya] against one slave (and) against twelve sheep?" (20) [And thus] Uthapshe: "Tae [did give his son] Tillaya into *ditennūtu*." And 'Tulpunnaya produced Tae's [document] of *ditennūtu*. (25) [And] the

tongue of Uthapshe spoke in court in the presence of the judges: "As for me, my brother Tae made me heir." In the lawsuit 'Tulpunnaya prevailed and the judges (30) committed Uthapshe in accordance with his (i. e., Tae's) tablet and in accordance with his (own) declaration to 'Tulpunnaya for one slave and for the 13 sheep involved in the *ditemnūtu* of Tae, because the fields and the buildings (35) of Tae Uthapshe had taken (over).

(36-38) Three seals.

Of principal interest in this text is the light which it throws on the responsibility of an heir for the testator's debts, even though such debts are adequately secured. The debtor's son had entered the creditor's house as *ditemnu*. Upon his father's death the estate goes to an uncle (see below, under 27) who enters the scene as an *ewuru*-heir. Now it was apparently incumbent upon the latter to liquidate the *ditemnūtu*, perhaps in accordance with some clause in the original agreement. But because he had taken over the estate without discharging this obligation (lines 34-5), the *ewuru* is now committed to the creditor for the amount of the original loan. The full legal implications of this decision and the question of the eventual fate of the *ditemnu* are not within my province to discuss.

12. For *ewuru* see now JAOS 55.435 ff. The present heir is again one who does not appear to have been in the direct line of inheritance (hence the construction with *epēšu*?), and not the son of the deceased. Note that *ewurumma epēšu* is here passive, but apparently active in lines 27-8.

27. The two brothers have different fathers (cf. lines 2 and 6), unless Kaliya is a hypocoristicon for Akawatil, a very notable possibility.

39

'Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya with 'Zammini daughter of Ilabriyash and with Wantiya son of Ilabriya concerning the offspring of 'Zammini, (5) that in reality (?) were born to Arrumpa slave of 'Tulpunnaya, in a lawsuit before the judges appeared, and thus 'Tulpunnaya: (10) "The offspring of 'Zammini to my slave Arrumpa were born." And the tongues of 'Zammini and of Wantiya before the judges (15) declared: "Yes, to Arrumpa the slave of 'Tulpunnaya they were born. In the lawsuit 'Tulpunnaya prevailed and the offspring (20) of 'Zammini that were born to Arrumpa [...] took.

(23-4 destroyed).

(25-9) Five seals.

Misinterpretation of fratriarchal rights is apparently responsible for the present lawsuit, inasmuch as Wantiya is the brother of the woman Zammini. Their father's name is given in the Hurrian nominative in line 2 and without the suffix -š in the next line. Cf. *Temtēnash*, 15.7 et al., and *Temtēna*, 41.5.

5. If *lu* is correct, the translation "in reality" reflects the approximate force of the statement.

40

¹Tulpunnaya daughter of [Sheltunnaya] with Amar-sha-ili the Habiru [...] in a lawsuit before the judges appeared, because Amar-sha-ili as slave (5) to ¹Tulpunnaya had come, but (later) withdrew. And he appeared before the judges and the tongue of Amar-sha-ili before the judges declared: "As the slave of ¹Tulpunnaya (10) I have entered. In the lawsuit ¹Tulpunnaya prevailed and the judges, as regards Amar-sha-ili, in accordance with his own declaration, into slavery committed him.

(14-21) Seven seals and signature of Shumu-libshī the scribe.

2. The third sign of *ḥa-bi-ru-ú* is somewhat uncertain [a collation has confirmed the reading], but the Semitic name, the determinative, and the statement concerning self-enslavement leave no room for doubt that Amar-sha-ili is a Habiru. The name occurs also in N 39.16. To the occurrences of Habiru given by Chiera, AJSL 49.115-24 may be added also *še'u a-na sisti ša Ḥa-bi-ru ša māzAq-qa-ti*, SMN 3191.19 f.

13. *it-ta-an-nu-uš* is doubtless a form of *nadū*, through the intermediate stage of *ittanduš*.

41

¹Tulpunnaya daughter of Sheltunnaya with Killi son of Ehliya in a lawsuit before the judges (5) of ¹Temtena appeared. Irrigating water the irrigation officer had assigned to ¹Tulpunnaya. But Killi cut (it) off and watered his own fields. (10) And because he had taken the irrigating water of ¹Tulpunnaya and watered his own fields, and (because) the tongue of Killi declared before the judges, (15) "The irrigating water belonging to ¹Tulpunnaya I took and my fields I watered," ¹Tulpunnaya prevailed in the lawsuit and the judges Killi for one ox (20) to ¹Tulpunnaya committed.

(22-31) Seals of eight judges and signature of Urhiya the scribe.

6. For the *k/gugallu*-officer (not to be read *su-kál-lu*), cf. also N 370.2.

42

Document of daughtership and daughter-in-lawship of ¹Hanate slave-woman of ¹Tulpunnaya; ¹Halpapusha the daughter of Shukrapu son of Arnamar, (5) now (her) ¹Hiyarelli the wife of Shurapu into daughtership and daughter-in-lawship to ¹Hanate maid of ¹Tulpunnaya gave. And ¹Hanate may give ¹Halpapusha into wifehood to whomever she chooses. To a slave as wife (10) she may give her. If the first husband should die, to another husband she may give (her); if the second husband should die, then to a third man she may give (her); if the third husband should die, (and so forth). And

the belongings of 'Halpapusha (15) (shall become the property) of 'Hanate. (Thus) Shukrapu and thus 'Hiyarelli: 'Hanate from the street we recognized(?) and gave her 'Halpapusha." (20) And 'Hanate shall treat 'Halpapusha as a daughter of Arrapha; she shall not return her to (the status of) a slave-girl. If 'Halpapusha has a claimant, Shukrapu (25) and 'Hiyarelli shall clear (her) and restore to 'Hanate. If Shukrapu and 'Hiyarelli break the agreement and against (30) 'Hanate concerning 'Halpapusha raise claims, two Lullubian slave-girls to 'Hanate they shall furnish.

(34-51) Thirteen witnesses, including Urhiya the scribe. Five seals.

13. Something like KI.MIN has been omitted, or is to be understood after *imtāt*, precisely as in 30.12.

17 f. The primary sense of *istū sūqi* is, of course, perfectly clear, but the legal significance and the full implications of an action performed "from the street," or "on the street" (54.12) are open to dispute. In his discussion of the passage in H I 28.4 ff. (*Fratriarchat* 28 n. 3) Keschaker calls attention to the series *ana ittišū* VII col III 7 f. where the taking "from the street" is applied to a hierodule. In the present context such an interpretation would obviously be impossible. For whatever might be the meaning of the following Hurrianizing phrase (*šimtumma nipuš*), it is used in this case by the couple under obligation as applied to the woman to whom they are obligated. The latter is apparently invested with some family rights (one is even tempted to connect the initial element with Hurrian *elli* "sister," though this is exceedingly problematic), as a result of which the daughter of the couple in question becomes the property of the party thus invested. Our translation "recognized" is purely *ad sensum*. The force of *istū sūqi* would then be merely "publicly" (cf. FL 63 note 5), the reference being perhaps to some symbolical act performed before witnesses and becoming in consequence legally binding.

21. The treatment of a "daughter of Arrapha" is indicated in detail in Gadd 12. For a royal proclamation concerning the treatment of Arraphian serfs, cf. N 195.

43

'Hanate slave-woman of 'Tulpunnaya with 'Hiyarelli [and] Shukrapu in a lawsuit before the judges concerning 'Halpapusha (5) appeared, inasmuch as 'Hiyarelli and Shukrapu had given 'Halpapusha to 'Hanate into daughtership. And the judges three times deputies (10) dispatched to them. Kari son of Akapshenni, Hanatu son of Kutanni, (and) Shimikari son of Nirpiya, (were) the three deputies of 'Hanate. But 'Hiyarelli did not consent to come.

In the lawsuit 'Hanate prevailed and the judges assigned 'Halpapusha to 'Hanate.

(20-5) Five seals and signature of Amurriya the scribe.

The daughtership contract given in the preceding document leads to litigation. Hanate wins the suit by default.

44

Record of (marriage-)contract of 'Hanate; concerning 'Halpapusha they drew up the (marriage-)contract, and 'Hanate (her) daughter (5) 'Halpapusha gave to Irwihuta slave of 'Tulpunnaya into wifehood.

(8-32) Fifteen witnesses, including Sin-iqisha the scribe. Twelve seals.

This contract may antedate the suit mentioned in the previous text, though the present sequence appears to be more probable.

45

Tablet of mutual agreement on the part of 'Awishnaya wife of Arzizza and of Sheshwaya son of Arzizza; with Aripenni slave of 'Tulpunnaya (5) they reached (this) mutual agreement: Seven sheep, one she-ass with its she-foals, forty minas of copper, these Arzizza removed from the house of 'Tulpunnaya and to Mushteshup the son of the King he delivered. And himself (10) from the house of Mushteshup (a number of lines destroyed).

(11-22) There remain the names of five witnesses, including Shershiya the scribe. Seven seals.

Aripenni, whose transfer to Tulpunnaya as slave is discussed in Nos. 34-5, is now in a position to figure as a principal in business dealings. The entire transaction is somewhat involved, owing partly to the fact that a considerable portion of the tablet is now missing. Arzizza received a certain sum from Tulpunnaya. The amount involved was used by Arzizza to retire a debt due to Mushteya son of the King, with the evident result that Mushteya released Arzizza from his self-enslavement (*ditennātu*). The missing part dealt apparently with the settlement effected by Arzizza's wife and son (following A.'s death?), whereby the old debt to Tulpunnaya was liquidated through some arrangement with Aripenni.

C. OIL RATIONS FOR THE GODS

(Nos. 46-50)

The five texts comprising this group introduce us to an important aspect of the temple economy of Nuzi. They are lists of oil rations set aside for various deities, thus constituting a type not represented so far among the Nuzi records. But it is not the economical aspect alone that renders the present group unusually valuable. Far more significant is the circumstance that these inventories afford an unexpected insight into the Nuzi pantheon. Considerable light is shed upon the character of the gods recognized by the non-Semitic population of the district. Moreover, important components of the local personal names appear, as a result, in their proper significance. And

finally, our texts impart incidentally a certain amount of information bearing on the linguistic substratum at Nuzi.

As inventories, the texts before us offer little variation in contents. The same formula is repeated time and again, so that a translation of the entire group becomes unnecessary. Nor are the remarks which follow intended to be exhaustive. Realizing the outstanding importance of these texts, Dr. Lacheman has autographed them, and the plates will be published elsewhere in the near future. A more detailed discussion should await the publication of these copies.

As a sample of the present material, the brief text numbered 46 is given in translation.

46

^dIM, ^dIshtar of Nineveh, ^dNergal, ^dIshtar Humella, these four gods of ^cHilmani, (5) their (1) oil for a year, beginning with the month of Hiyaru, Urhiya the priest [the oil] has received. (10) (To last) till the (next) month of Hiyaru.

(12) Seal of Urhiya the priest.

The above four deities are grouped together in three of the four remaining texts, twice in Nos. 47 and 50. In tabular form the results may be presented as follows:

Deities: ^dIM (*Adad* or *Tešup*); ^dIshtar *Ninua-we*
^dNergal; ^dIshtar *Humella*

<i>Passage</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Priest</i>
46.1-12	<i>Hilmanu</i>	<i>Hiyaru</i>	<i>Urhiya</i>
47.19-24	<i>Tilla</i>	<i>Hiyaru</i>	<i>Ithizarwa</i>
47.35-32	<i>Hilmanu</i>	<i>Hiyaru</i>	<i>Tarmiya</i>
48.31-5	<i>Tilla</i>	<i>Hizzar-we</i>	<i>Nušapu</i>
50.21-5	<i>Tilla</i>
50.35-42	<i>Hilmanu</i>

In No. 49 the quartet is separated. The pair IM and Ishtar of Nineveh are cited in lines 14-5, while Nergal and Ishtar Humella appear in lines 22-4. The latter pair are linked again in 47.5-6 (^cAzuhinna), 48.7 (^cAzuhinna) and 14 (^cAqash), and in 50.31-2 (^cEzira). Together with another pair (^d*Sa-ri-e* and ^d*Ishtar Tup-ki-ū-ḫé*), they are mentioned also in 50.15-20 (^cAqash). That these pairs are, for the most part at least, regarded as couples follows from 49.16-20: *1 uš-bi NI DUG.GA 1 uš-bi NI el-lu a-na Bēl Ū-lam-me 1 uš-bi NI DUG.GA 1 uš-bi NI el-lu a-na aš-šá-az-zu* "one u. of good oil, one u. of excellent oil for the Lord of ^cUlamme, one u. of good oil, one u. of excellent oil his wife."

Two texts (47 and 48) are headed by a quartet of deities *ša URU A-zu-ḫi-in-ni* (i. e., the city of A(r)zuhinna). These are: *ḫKu-ur-we-e* (so in 41.1; 48.1 has *ḫGur-we-e*), *ḫKu-mu-ur-we*, *ḫIštar Ni-nu-a-we*, and *ḫA-ḫu-la-e*. In No. 47 the recipient is the *āšipu*-priest of the city of Azuhinna, while in No. 48 it is Paiteshup the *šangū* who receives the oil for these Azuhinna gods "in the month of Ginuni of "Nuzi."

In addition to the Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar *Humella* we find an *ḫIštar Ak-ku-pa-we-ni-we* (47.6) and an *ḫIštar Tup-ki-il-ḫé* (50.14). By the side of these manifestations of the goddess we have also the apparently independent *ḫAk-ku-pa-e* (48.10) and *ḫTup-ki-il-ḫé* (47.11). Obviously, these two are adjectival forms with the endings *-e* (for *-we*, ultimately a genitive ending; cf. Thureau-Dangin, Syria 12.257) and *ḫi/ḫé* respectively; they stand for "(Ishtar) of A." and "(Ishtar) the Ta-an." No. 49 adds *ḫIštar Pu-ta-aḫ-ḫé* (line 9) and *ḫIštar Al-la-i-wa-aš-we* (line 30), with the same pair of endings. Finally, we have *ḫIštar be-la-at du-ri* (49.6) and *ḫIštar e/ir-wi-in* (49.19); for a possible connection between these two, see the notes below.

Before discussing some of the problems raised by these texts, we give a complete list of the deities, cities, and months mentioned in them.

a. Deities.

- ḫA-ḫu-la-e*, 47.2; 48.2.
- ḫAk-ku-pa-e*, 48.10; cf. *ḫIštar Ak*.
- ḫA-zu-i-ḫé*, 47.10; 48.11.
- Bēl Ū-lam-me*, 49.18; *aš-šá-az-zu*, 49.20.
- dIM*, 46.1; 47.19, 25; 48.31; 49.12; 50.21, 35.
- ḫIštar* (= U) *Ak-ku-pa-we-ni-we*, 47.6; cf. *ḫAk-ku-pa-e*.
- ḫIštar Al-la-i-wa-aš-we*, 50.30.
- ḫIštar be-la-at du-ri*, 49.6.
- ḫIštar e/ir-wi-in*, 48.19.
- ḫIštar Hu-me/i-el-la*, 46.3; 47.5, 12, 21, 26-7; 48.7, 14, 33; 49.29; 50.6, 18, 32, 40.
- ḫIštar Ni-nu-a-we*, 46.1; 47.2, 19, 25; 48.2, 31; 49.15; 50.1, 22, 37.
- ḫIštar Pu-ta-aḫ-ḫé*, 49.9.
- ḫIštar Tup-ki-il-ḫé*, 50.14; cf. *ḫTup-ki-il-ḫé*.
- ḫKu-mu-ur-we*, 47.1; 48.1.
- ḫKu-ur-we-e*, 47.1; *ḫGur-we-e*, 48.1.
- dNergal* (N_h.IRI.GAL), 46.2; 47.5, 12, 20, 26; 48.7, 14, 32; 49.22; 50.17, 24, 30, 38.
- dSa-ri-i-e*, 47.11; *dZa-ri-i-e*, 48.19; 50.2; *dŠa-ri-e*, 47.16; 50.9, 15; *dSa-ri-á*, 48.12.
- dTil-la*, 49.3.
- dTi-ir-we*, 47.7; 50.8.
- ḫTup-ki-il-ḫé*, 47.11; 48.14; cf. *ḫIštar T*.
- dUTU* (-šimika?), 47.7; 48.20.
- dZa-ar-wa-an*, 47.10; 48.18.
- dZi-i-BIT* (?) *-e* (= *Šibitti?*), 49.26; *aš-šá-az-zu*, 49.28.

b. Cities.

URU \dot{A} -qa-dš, 47.14, 17; 48.17; 50.19.

URU \dot{A} -zu-ḫi-in-ni, 47.3, 8; 48.3, 8, 21; 50.11.

URU[E]-zi-ra, 50.33.

URUḫi-il-ma-ni, 46.5; 47.28; 50.41.

URUTil-la, 47.23; 48.34; 50.26.

URUṢ-lam-me, 49.32.

c. Months.

Gi-nu-ni ša URUNu-zi, 48.6, 27, 30; Ḫi-is-za-ar-we, 49.34; Ḫi-a-ri, 46.7, 11; 47.32.

NOTES.

a. Deities.

dšruiḫe may perhaps be connected with the city *Asuhinna*; see below, under dTilla. For a similar interrelationship cf. the feminine name *Ithip-Nuzu*, N 505.5 with that of our city (*Nuzu/i*). In this connection may be noted the occurrence of a bit dIštar Nu[zu] followed by bit dIM[.] *Hal-pa-ḫi*, SMN 2730.2-5; cf. the position of Teshup of Halap (URUḫal-pa- \dot{w} a \dot{a} -an dTešup, Forrer, ZDMG 76.226), and his consort Hepit (Götze, *Kleinasien* 124).

Bēl-Ulamme reminds Dr. P. M. Purves, who as a member of my seminar has made a study of the non-Semitic personal names from Nuzi, of the second element in *Arip-bēlamme*, N 411.24. Inasmuch as that element plainly refers to some deity, a connection with *Bēl-Ulamme* (with haplogy in the longer personal name; for a parallel process, cf. the form *Samuḫi* for *Samuḫaḫi*, Friedrich, *Analecta Orientalia* 12.124 note 3) is entirely probable.

dIM: The pairing of the Storm god with Ishtar of Nineveh (for the latter, cf. Götze, op. cit. 125 note 10), recalls the analogous linking of Teshup with Hepit in the Boghazköi texts (*ibid.*).

dIštar (U): The connection of Ishtar with *Akkupae* and *Tupkilhe* follows from the compounds in which *Ištar* constitutes the first element and *A.* or *T.* the second. The latter terms may represent cities, and similar geographic designations may be suspected in *Al-la-i-wa-aš-we* and in *Pu-ta-aḫ-he*; cf. also dIštar *Lu-ub-dū-ḫi*, H III 231.19, and see JAOS 55.443 note 38; for the significance of the suffix *-ḫi*, cf. Friedrich, op. cit. 121 ff. Instead of localizing the goddess, however, some of the identifying adjectives may indicate epithets or attributes of the deity. This is self-evident in the case of *bēlat dāri*. As for *ir-wi-in*, a similar connotation is equally clear. That *irwi* (*iwri* in West Hurrian) means "king, lord," has been known for some time (cf. JAOS 55.437 f.). The final *-n* is of particular interest. Its value is apparently that of a definite article, corresponding to that of the well-known Hurrian suffix *-ni* (Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 12.254 ff.). dIštar-*irwini* is, then, to be translated as "Ishtar, the Lady." Does this correspond to dIštar-bēlat (-dūri)?

dKumurwe: The normal Boghazköi form of this name, which represents the father of the Hurrian pantheon, is *Kumarpi*; cf. Götze, op. cit. 125, and note 11. For the interchange of *a* and *u* in the non-Semitic names from Nuzi, see Berkooz, OPNA, under "Vowels," and cf. my note in JAOS 55.436 note 17 (on *swuru*). As for the Western preference for the writing of the labial with *p*-containing signs as against the East Hurrian *w* + vowel (PI), I need only call attention for the present to *Pentešina-Wan-*

tišenni. For the final vowel of *Kumurwe*, cf. *dKu-mar-we*, KUB XXVII 38 col. iv 21. The precedence of *Kurwe* over *Kumurwe* merits special mention.

dNergal: The juxtaposition of this god and *dIštar Dumella* is significant. The latter may correspond to *dEreškigal-Allatum* of the Babylonian pantheon. In the Nuzi personal names Nergal appears as *Ugur* (cf. the common *Arip-Ugur*, *Išhip-Ugur*, and the like, but since *Ugur* is hardly the local reading of the ideographic group *dNĒ. IRI. GAL*), we may conclude that the proper names with *Ugur* represent at best an earlier phase of borrowing or adaptation than the Akkadian elements in the Nuzi pantheon.

dTilla: Note the city by the same name in 47.23; 48.34; 50.26. Dr. Purves reminds me that Clay discussed a god and a city *Tilla* in his *Personal Names of the Kassite Period* 28 note 1.

dTirwe and *dZarwe* (+ *an*) are common elements in our personal names; cf. e.g., the priest *Išhi-sarwe*, 47.22. The determinative for god is omitted, of course, in such names in accordance with the customary treatment of Hurrian and Hurrianized divine elements.

dUTU: The correct reading may be *Simika*, which is very common in the personal names. Cf., however, the remarks on *dNergal*; hence the reading *Samaš* is by no means impossible.

dZi-i-BIT(?)-*e*: The reading *Sibitti* is doubtful, but not improbable.

b. Cities.

The name of the city which is known in Assyrian inscriptions as *Ar/urzuḫina* is written in these texts *URUA-zu-ḫi-in-ni* (in the gen.). The absence of the *r* (cf. also *dAzuḫḫe*) is worthy of notice. But whatever the reason for it, the present writing gives no encouragement to the theory that the name is to be interpreted as *Aḫi-nārZuḫina* (cf. RLA I 165 b), for which the sole support is the pretentious orthography of the eponym lists; the variant form *Urzuḫina* is alone sufficient to discredit the above etymology. For the position of the city, cf. Albright, *JAOS* 45.209 f.

c. Months.

For the Nuzi months, see provisionally Gordon, *Rivista degli studi orientali* 15.254 ff.; the article has to be brought up to date and is in need of several important corrections. Our *Ḫi-ta-za-ar-we* has no connection, of course, with the personal name *Išhi-Zarwe* (see above). It represents instead Nuzi *ITUḪinzurwe*, cf. Gordon, op. cit. 256. *Ginunu* may well represent West Semitic *Kinunu*, as is suggested by Gordon, loc. cit.; it should be noted, however, that in Nuzi the writing *gi*, with which sign this month-name is always begun, is not to be confused with *ki*; cf. Berkooz, *OPNA*, under "Orthography." There need be no doubt, on the other hand, as to the Western connections of the third name on the list, viz., *Ḫiyaru*; it corresponds to Phoenician *Ḫiyār*; for a list of Phoenician months, cf. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies* 25.

d. Varia.

The measures *ušbi* (No. 49) and *ušbi GAL* (No. 50) are not known otherwise. Oil is measured at Nuzi by the *talū*, which may contain eight or ten *qā*, or else by the *sātu*-measure of eight or ten *qā*, cf. No. 89. The ending *-bi* is shared with *nu-bi* "10,000," cf. No. 90, which in turn recalls the Urartean word for "10,000" *atibi*. But any morphological connection between the measure and the number must be regarded at present as improbable.

D. MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

(Nos. 51-100)

The first half of the texts published in this volume comprised, as we have seen, three well-defined groups: The People of Nuzi vs. Mayor Kushshiharbe, The Archives of Tulpunnaya, and Oil Rations for the Gods. The selections for all three sections were inclusive, in that every available text relating to them was incorporated for the sake of completeness. In the present group, on the other hand, a different principle has been followed. Care has been exercised not to include any documents that would essentially duplicate material previously published. It will be found, therefore, that each of the following fifty texts contributes in some way to our knowledge of Nuzi topics. The individual contributions vary considerably. They may throw fresh light on certain aspects of family or business law, or on certain details of legal procedure; our insight into Nuzi economy is greatly improved by the addition of a number of brief records of a type that is all but absent from the private archives on which Nuzi publications have hitherto drawn so heavily; and finally, some of the texts offer little of topical interest, but are important linguistically by illustrating the origin, meaning, or form of some word, phrase, or proper name.

The arrangement of the material will be indicated by a rapid analytical survey of the main subdivisions. Nos. 51-59 relate to family laws in general, including sale-adoptions. Heading the group is a royal edict regulating the disposal of the daughters of the palace slaves and domestics (No. 51). There follow daughtership, sistership, and marriage contracts, and sale-adoptions explicit or implied. Special attention may be called to the important *aḫātutu*-text No. 54, and to the marriage document with the clause about the symbolical transfer of the *bukannu*.

Nos. 60-7 deal with *ditennūtu*-transactions. Nos. 68-9 are two interesting declarations in court, the first recording the cancellation of a *mullā*-fine, and the other bearing the rubric *tuppi ša ḫuzzuzi*. Nos. 70-5 contain or relate to lawsuits. Of particular interest are numbers 74-5. Both lead to trials by the river ordeal, with the death penalty facing the loser. The dispute between two women, which is the subject of No. 75, is marked by unusual bitterness.

No. 76 is a letter referring to gleaning rights on the part of the lower classes of Nuzians. But while the subject matter is reminiscent of the book of Ruth, there is nothing idyllic about the outcome. For these rights are allegedly abused and the gleaners end up by being prosecuted as thieves.

The last twenty-four texts are strictly economic in character. Nos. 77-9 deal with merchants, No. 77 being of particular interest on account of its

mention of "Canaanite" wool. Nos. 80-2 pertain to metals withdrawn from the official storage place. Nos. 83-4 deal with chariots, No. 85 relates to the manufacture of furniture, No. 86 contributes new technical terms used with certain domestic animals, and Nos. 87-8 are important for our understanding of the Nuzi laws of agrarian partnership. Nos. 89-91 deal respectively with sesame, reeds, and barley deposited for safe-keeping. Nos. 92-94 pertain to debts, and Nos. 95-6 record the purchase and subsequent delivery of a Lullu slave-girl. No. 97 record the loan of certain metals on interest. Finally, the last three texts (Nos. 98-100) are inventories of horses, which contribute a number of technical terms used in this highly specialized department.

Detailed discussions of individual topics and problems will be found in the notes appended to each text.

51

This (is) the proclamation concerning the slaves of the palace and the domestics of the palace, the old one: (5) Thus the King: "No one, whether slave of the palace or domestic of the palace, his daughter as orphan and as harlot (10) without (the permission of) the King shall cause to go out. Whosoever, a slave of the palace, his daughter as orphan and as harlot without (the permission of) the king has sent forth, (15) his daughter for orphanhood and harlotry has given up, they shall bring (him) to the palace, and another daughter of his for possession (20) to the palace, because he had taken away (the other one), they shall take (her); and as for him, a fine in addition to her (25) they shall impose on him. And this document shall be read to them every third year or every fourth year, (30) lest it be forgotten."

(31-2) Seals of Heltipapu and of Kartiperwi.

1. We expect *šadātu* in place of *šadātu*; cf. N 195.12: *šarru ul-te-dī-mi*.

17. Text has *i-lu-ša-aš-še*, which is clearly an error. The reading *-ki-*, which calls for only a slight change, yields *igiš-* with the entirely pertinent meaning "dedicate to, give up for."

27-8. "Three and four" may have the same generalizing value as in Hebrew; cf. e.g., Prov. 30.18.

52

Thus (declares) Hanizu, servant of 'Uzna: "'Hashillu, my daughter, into daughter(ship) to (5) 'Uzna, wife of Ennamati, I (!) have given. And 'Uzna two *imēr* seven *sātu* of barley, one garment, as payment for 'Hashillu to Hanizu has given. (10) If 'Hashillu has a claimant, Hanizu shall clear (her), to Uzna he shall give (her). And 'Uzna (15) shall not make 'Hashillu into a slave-girl. If 'Hashillu has run away, Hanizu for 'Hashillu (20) shall

search, shall produce (her), to 'Uzna he shall deliver (her). If Hanizu 'Hashillu (25) does not clear, or does not seek (her) and deliver (her) to 'Uzna, then 'Uzna shall pluck out the eyes of Hanizu."

(30-34) Four seals, including that of Turarteshup the scribe, son of Ithapihe.

6. *ittadin*: note 3rd person for 1st.

18. *birankumma ippušū*: another construction with *-umma epšū*. Here the phrase is obviously a synonym of *innabīt*, which gives us the value "flee" for Hurrian *b/pirank-*.

53

Thus the men of 'Anzugallu: "That 'Nanaya (5) is the daughter of Hanaya we can testify; but as for her estate and her children we have no knowledge."

(9) One seal.

54

The tongue of 'Kunyashu daughter of Hutteshup before these witnesses spoke as follows: (5) "Formerly Akammushi gave (me) away into wifehood and forty shekels of silver due for me from my husband he received. And now Akammushni and my husband are (!) dead. (10) And now, as for me, Akiya son of Hutteshup (in a 'my sister!' (act) upon the street seized (me and) a sistership(-guardian) over me he became; (15) into wifehood he will give (me). Ten shekels of his *šurampaiši* silver from my husband he shall receive. Whosoever (20) among them breaks the agreement shall pay a fine of one mina of gold. The tablet was written in the entrance of the Great Gate of 'Nuzi.

(24-30) Signature of Teshupnirari. Five seals.

This document has an obvious bearing on certain problems of family organization among the Nuzians, particularly with respect to fratriarchal rights. The principal drawback to a completely satisfactory solution of these problems is the involved style of the relevant records, including the present one. This applies specifically to the decisive passages. Inasmuch as these passages are almost identically phrased, to the point of reproducing the same un-Akkadian idioms, the conclusion is justified that the phraseology was modeled after the underlying Hurrian, the more so since the social institution involved goes back to the same immediate source (cf. Koshaker, *Fratriarchat* 84).

There is no doubt about the facts leading up to the present deposition. Both the former guardian (evidently brother, or perhaps purchaser) of the woman Kunyashu and her husband have died. Now her brother Akiya obtains fratriarchal power over her with the right to sell her to another husband. What is obscure is the manner in which that power is obtained, not to mention the juristic implications. Does Akiya assert his rights by "seizing the woman on the street," as the text now reads, or is it Kunyashu who takes the initiative (taking the verb with *anaku* and regarding its

first person as yet another Nuzi instance of confusion with the third person)? For the latter alternative we would have parallels in Gadd 31.2-4 and H I 26.4-7; the sequel to the symbolical act thus indicated is the same in all three instances: 2 *a-na a-ḥa-tū-ti a-na ya-ši i-te-pu-uš(-mi)*, (except that H I 26.7 reads *e-te-pu-uš-mi*). The consistent use of *ana ya-ši* would be incongruous if the verb were taken in its correct transitive sense; we have here evidently a further instance of the stative conception of the verb after the apparent model of Hurrian (see Appendix B), i. e., "he became," rather than "he made." But this merely increases the ambiguity of the first part of the sentence. For further details, cf. the following remarks to the individual passages. In passing, we may point out that, for all its syntactic obscurities, the text before us bears out clearly Koschaker's view of *aḥātātu*, as expressed in op. cit. 31 f.

9. The explicit statement concerning the death of Kunyashu's previous masters suggests that this is a necessary prerequisite in all similar *aḥātātu* situations, precisely as maintained by Koschaker, loc. cit.

11. As shown by his patronymic, Akiya is a brother of Kunyashu. Consequently, the following *a-ḥa-ti-ya* may be a mistake for *a-ḥi-ya*. In the translation the text is regarded as correct and *aḥatiya* is taken as an exclamatory expression signifying the character of the act in question.

12. For *ina sūqi* cf. the remarks to 42.17.

13. In this case *aḥātātu* refers not to blood relationship but to a social institution whereby a man may obtain "sistership"-rights; as we have seen, Akiya was Kunyashu's brother to begin with.

16. Note that the amount specified this time is only a fourth of the previous purchase price. For *šurampašhi*, cf. the similar term in 35.4. The pronominal suffix (-*šu*) proves that the word refers to a type of payment and not a grade of silver. Cf. also 55.33.

55

Record of (marriage-)contract of Zilikkushu son of Ahuya and of Shukritesup son of Turshenni; between them they effected (this) contract. Accordingly, Shukritesup his sister (5) 'Haluya into wifehood to Zilikkushu has given; and Zilikkushu thirty shekels of *ḥašaḥušennu* silver to Shukritesup shall pay. And 'Shehalitu daughter of 'Haluya into wifehood to Akkata son of Zilikkushu Shukritesup (10) has given. And Zilikkushu twenty shekels of *ḥašaḥušennu* silver to Shukritesup shall pay and the remaining twenty shekels (due) for 'Shehalitu in her girdle have been tied up and (15) released to 'Shehalitu. The tongue of 'Haluya before witnesses spoke as follows: "Myself into wifehood he (or I!) gave, and my daughter (20) 'Amsharelli into wifehood to Shukritesup son of Zilikkushu I have given." If 'Haluya or if 'Shehalitu have a claimant, then Shukritesup shall clear them, (25) to Zilikkushu he shall restore them. If 'Amsharelli has a claimant, then 'Haluya shall clear (her and) restore to Zilikkushu. And Zilikkushu (30) another wife in addition to 'Haluya shall not take. And Zilikkushu fifty shekels of silver, as afore-mentioned, *ḥašaḥušennu* for 'Haluya and for 'Shehalitu, (35) in instalments of five shekels year by year to Shukritesup shall pay until he

has [paid it] off (?). Thus 'Haluya: "Kanzushshalli my daughter to Zilikkushu (40) I have born and now 'Kanzushshalli into daughtership to said Zilikkushu I have given." Whosoever among them breaks the contract with regard to (any) words that they have spoken (45) shall pay as fine x mina(s) of gold. The tablet was written in the entrance of the Zizza gate in "[...].

(49-62) Seven witnesses, including Turarteshup the scribe and Tayani the gatekeeper. Six seals.

This interesting document may appear involved at first because of the number of persons mentioned in it, but the situation is easily clarified. The principals are Shukriteshup and his sister Haluya on the one hand, and Zilikkushu on the other. The latter obtains Haluya as wife upon payment to her brother of the rather low price of thirty shekels of silver. He also acquires from Shukriteshup one Shehalitu, daughter of Haluya, the girl to become the wife of Akkata son of the purchaser. The purchase price, which amounts in this case to the normal sum of forty shekels, is to be divided into two equal parts, one half going to Shukriteshup and the other to the prospective daughter-in-law, in whose girdle (*qannu*; or is it simply "hem"?) it is to be tied up as dowry (cf. H I 80.13 and FL 23 f.; see also Gordon, ZA NF 9.157 f.). So much for the contract between Shukriteshup and Zilikkushu, which has Haluya's approval (lines 17-22). Further provision is made concerning two other daughters of Haluya. This time it is Haluya who disposes of them, her brother having apparently no legal rights in the matter. One of these girls by the name of Amsharelli is assigned a son of Zilikkushu whose name is also Shukriteshup. It is significant that whereas the elder Shukriteshup is responsible for honoring all debts held against Haluya and Shehalitu that happen to antedate the present contract, Haluya herself assumes such responsibility for Amsharelli. Nor does the latter bring any daughtership price. That the union between Zilikkushu and Haluya, both of whom had children from previous marriages, was not solely some disguise for a business transaction, is shown by the fact that Zilikkushu may not take another wife (lines 30-1). Finally, Haluya cedes to Zilikkushu the parental rights to Kanzushshalli, her third daughter.

1. For our Zilikkushu, and the several spellings of the name, cf. 60.2.

6. The brother receives for his sister only thirty shekels of silver. Together with the twenty shekels that he is to get as his half of the total sum for Shehalitu, the amount due from Zilikkushu is fifty shekels (line 32).

17. The force of *ramannima* is most likely, though syntactically, subjective ("I myself," i.e., with my consent), rather than objective ("me" would be *yāš*; note also *attadin*, line 22); for the juristic sense of such statements, cf. Koschaker, *Fratriarchat* 33).

33. The phrase *kaspu annātu ša qabū ḥašahūšennu ša H. 4 ša Š.* would seem to speak in favor of my former suggestion (FL 22 f.) that *ḥašahūšennu* signifies the nature of the payment in question and not some quality of silver; the former is certainly true of *tešampāšī* and *šurampāšī*, cf. note to 35.4. But Koschaker's remarks on the subject (*Fratriarchat* 32 note 1) cannot be ignored, and my previous interpretation is no longer tenable.

40. Does *attalassu* mean that Kanzushshalli was actually the daughter of Zilikkushu by Haluya? The context makes this exceedingly improbable. The alternative is to regard this declaration as a polite form of transfer of parental rights.

56

Tarmiya son of Huya with Shukriya and with Kulahupi, with (these) two of his brothers, sons of Huya, on account of the slave-girl ¹[Zululi-Ishtar] (5) in a lawsuit before the judges of Nuzi appeared, and thus Tarmiya before the judges spoke: "My father Huya was ill and on (his) couch (10) he lay. And my hand my father seized and thus to me he spoke, 'The other sons of mine are older (and) wives they have taken. But you have not taken a wife. (15) So Zululi-Ishtar as your wife to you herewith I am giving.'" And the judges witnesses of Tarmiya requested. [And Tarmiya] his witnesses [before the judges] (20) produced: . . son of Hurshaya, . . son of Ekkiya, . . son of Itrusha, (and) . . son of Hamanna, (25) [these] witnesses of [Tarmiya] were examined before the judges. And the judges to Shukriya and to Kulahupi spoke: (30) "Go and (against) the witnesses of Tarmiya take the oath of the gods. From the gods Shukriya and Kulahupi shrank, and in the lawsuit Tarmiya (35) prevailed [and] the judges assigned the slave-girl Zululi-Ishtar to Tarmiya.

(38-41) Three seals and signature of Iliya.

In this very vivid and appealing document a younger brother is successful in retaining possession of his wife, a former slave-girl of his father; the latter had presented her to the boy, for whom he is said to have had much affection, as he lay on his deathbed. The elder brothers dispute the grant, but desist when confronted with the oath of the gods.

8 ff. The homely picture of a father who senses the approach of death and reaches out for the hand of his youngest son, and then speaks to him tenderly, is unique in cuneiform literature. It is a worthy forerunner of the Benjamin episodes in the Old Testament.

17. Note the singular ending of *ši-bu-ta*. For *in/mtanū* "examined," rather than "counted," or "were confirmed," cf. *mihšišūnu imtanū* "their wounds they examined," 72.14-16, and see also *mitinnū* in a similar context, H II 10.12.

57

The tongue of ¹Ashta[...] daughter of Kisht[a...] before [...] witnesses spoke as follows: (5) "Myself into wifedom to Beltari I(!) have given." Her word has been made binding, and the transfer has verily been made. (10) And these are the men of the contract.

(11-37) Eleven witnesses, including Utangal the scribe. Seven seals.

This badly preserved tablet is interesting chiefly in that it contains the clause *awāssu rakis ā lā šitiq* (lines 8-9), a virtual repetition of 31.13-4. Both documents deal with marriage, the latter one between slaves. Was the use of (*šukannu*) *šitiq* restricted in Nuzi to marriage contracts, and specifically so between slaves?

58

Tablet of adoption of Ehelteshup son of Kipaya; Uthaptae son of Artura he adopted. As his inheritance-share, woods inside (5) 'Nuzi by the fort, twenty-five cubits in length and x cubits in width, south of the woods of Kizziri, north of the woods of Shehalteshup, below the wall and (10) above the woods of the same Shehalteshup, to Uthaptae he has given. And Uthaptae forty minas of lead (and) eight sheep as his reward to Ehelteshup has given. If the woods (5) have a claimant, then Ehelteshup shall clear those woods and restore (them) to Uthaptae. If the woods are large, he shall not curtail (them); if the woods are small, he shall not increase (them); the feudal tasks (20) of the woods Ehelteshup shall bear, and Uthaptae shall not bear. A (plot of) *paihu*-land inside Nuzi by the fort, twenty-five cubits in length and nine cubits in width, (25) [...] Ehelteshup son of Kipaya [into] woods shall transform. And Ehelteshup woods which are like his (?) (30) [...] shall produce. Until the woods of Ehelteshup for(?) Uthaptae he has produced, Ehelteshup shall not free himself from these woods. (35) When the *paihu*-land of Uthaptae has been made like the woods of Ehelteshup, forthwith Ehelteshup (40) from his woods shall go free. And these woods of Ehelteshup promptly Uthaptae shall take. Whoever between them breaks the agreement, one mina of silver (45) (and) one mina of gold he shall pay as fine. The tablet was written after the proclamation in 'Nuzi.

(48-55) Seven witnesses, in addition to Aripsharri the scribe.

(55-8) These are the seven men who surveyed the woods and paid out the money.

(59-66) Seals of the above.

A combination of scribal incompetence and of breaks in the text renders uncertain the very passages on which the interpretation of the whole document must depend. It is clear, at any rate, that we have here a *marātu* added to a *ditemnātu*. By virtue of the former Uthaptae receives from Ehelteshup a certain orchard. Now U. secures also the services of E. for the purpose of transforming an uncultivated piece of ground, which is located in the same section and has apparently the same measurements, into an exact counterpart of the "inheritance share" in question. Until E. has accomplished this task, he is to remain the *ditemnu* (the term is not actually employed) of U.

4. GÍŠHI.A MES is used in this text consistently in place of *kirā*, not unlike our own "woods."

5. The *gerhu* of Nuzi refers apparently to some walled part of the city. An extensive military organization is reflected in numerous unpublished texts which deal with soldiers, chariots, horses, and weapons.

22. *eglu paihu* signifies manifestly "uncultivated land," this translation being supported by the more common *qaggaru paihu*.

24. The number 9 is doubtless to be read also in line 6. The special virtue of a plot measuring exactly twenty-five cubits by nine cubits escapes us.

29. What the scribe had in mind was something like *kima išMEŠ šašū mašlu*; cf. lines 36 f.

32. Instead of *š* we expect here *ana*; *š* is out of place also in line 42.

38. For *šurramma* see Koschaker (and Landsberger), Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wis. 42.1.88 note 2; but cf. already FL 60 (ad H I 80.32).

59

If Enniku and Akapshenni, the sons of Shimikari, on account of the lands and houses of their father Shimikari (5) against Huya, against the children of Huya, (and) against the children's children of Huya raise complaints, ten minas of silver and ten minas of gold they(!) shall pay as fine. If Huya (10) after Enniku and after Akapshenni shouts, "Go, bear the feudal tasks of his houses [and lands]," ten minas of silver (and) ten minas of gold he shall pay. (15) And Enniku and Akapshenni wrote this tablet and gave it to Huya.

(18-39) Fourteen witnesses. Seven seals, including that of Nabū-ila the scribe.

The dramatic form of this declaration (without any introduction), the provision for all subsequent generations, the size of the stipulated fine, the assigning of the *ilku* to the new owner, and the novel statement about the authorship of the text (lines 16-7), are all details worthy of special notice. Following are a few other items of interest:

9 ff. In this passage the phrase *ina arki X šašū* is used virtually in its literal sense "shout after one."

13. In *našātū-mi* we have an interesting form of the second person plural permansive, without the affirmative *-mi*. Of infinitely greater significance, however, is the fact that we have here the sequence of imperative + copula + permansive, or almost precisely as in Hebrew with the *wōtō* conversive and perfect consecutive (the Heb. equivalent would be in the present instance *lekū ānešūtem*).

39. *dAK.Ki-la* is a curious hybrid writing for *dNabū-ila*. The customary writing is *dAK.DINGIR.RA* (passim), and the present accusative rendering is very important, if it is not merely a scribal caprice; for it would represent the predicate in a nominal sentence "Nabū is god"; cf. my remarks in JAOS 56.35. In 4.25 and in a text published recently by Lacheman, JAOS 56 plate III (following p. 431), Left Edge, we read *dAK.KA.DINGIR.RA* with the Sumerian complement preserved in KA corresponding to our present Ki (to transcribe thus the third sign of the name).

60

Document of *ditenannūtu* of Zilikkushu son of Huya; accordingly, himself into *ditenannūtu* for ten years into the house (5) of ¹Uzna wife of Ennamati he caused to enter. And ¹Uzna thirty-five minas of lead, one *imēr* of barley, and one *imēr* of wheat into *ditenannūtu* to (10) Zilipkushuh has given. When (his) ten years in the house of ¹Uzna have elapsed, thirty-five minas of lead,

one *imēr* of barley, and one *imēr* of wheat, the money (15) specified in the tablet of Zilipkushuh, to ¹Uzna he shall return and himself from the house of ¹Uzna he will free. If the work of ¹Uzna (20) a single day Zilipkushuh leaves, one mina of copper, the compensation day by day, Zilipkushuh to ¹Uzna shall pay as fine. (25) Thus Zilipkushuh: "If I am not available, then ¹Uzna may seize my sons, daughters, and wife, and the money and the compensation for him to ¹Uzna they shall furnish." The buildings of Zi(li)k-kushuh (30) bail for Zilipkushuh (shall constitute). The tongue of Zilipkushuh before witnesses spoke as follows: "The money specified in the tablet from ¹Uzna I have received."

(34-47) Eight witnesses. Six seals.

2. From the same Zilip/ikushu(h) we have the valuable marriage document No. 55, where the name is written consistently *Zi-li-ik-ku-šu*. In addition to that form we have in the present text *Zi-lip-ku-šu-uḫ* (lines 10, 15, 20, 23, 30), and *Zi-ik-ku-šu-uḫ* (line 29, where *li* may however have been omitted accidentally). The loss of *ḫ* in the second element of the name is found also in *A-ri-ku-šu*, H I 64.15 and N 220.21, as against *A-ri-ku-šu-uḫ*, N 242.19 and 270.25; cf. also *Urḫi-Kušuḫ*, 6.2.5. For still another form of *Kušu* (*ḫ*), cf. *A-ri-ku-šu-up/w-cc-e*, N 550.2; see Berkooz, OPNA, under "Velars." The first element (*zil-*, cf. the common *zil-ip-*) is probably to be connected with Hurrian *zēl-ik-uḫlu* "witness," on which see now Gordon, JBL 54.141 note 9, and Koschaker, OLZ 1936, col. 156. In *-zilakku* and *-ziluk* we may have the same element in substantival form, as epithet of a deity.

27. Note the non-Semitic use of a single *-ya* with three nouns.

28. The *-šu* of *urīḫu* applies of course to the man and not to the money.

29 f. The use of the distinctively personal concept of *māḫiṣ pāti* in connection with houses is etymologically incongruous, although it is certain to prove of interest to the jurist.

61

(Case)

(Document of) Elhiptasheni

(Tablet)

Document of *dilennūtu* of Urhiya son of Akitilla; accordingly, his son Elhiptasheni into *dilennūtu* for (5) five years to Kulahupi son of Arteya he has given. And Kulahupi forty minas of lead (and) ten minas of bronze likewise into *dilennūtu* to Urhiya has given. (10) If there is a claim against Elhiptasheni, then Urhiya shall clear (it), to Kulahupi he shall restore (him). If Elhiptasheni (15) should leave the work of Kulahupi for a single day, one mina of copper, the compensation day by day, Urhiya to Kulahupi (20) shall pay as fine. When the five years (of) Elhiptasheni in the house of

Kulahupi (have elapsed), forty minas of lead and ten minas of bronze (25) Urhiya to Kulahupi shall return and his son from the house of Kulahupi he shall free. Whoever breaks the agreement, one sound ox (30) he shall pay as fine. The tablet was written after the proclamation inside "Nuzi in the palace entrance. If Elhiptasheni should run away or be lost, (35) then Urhiya shall replace (him).

(36-53) Eight witnesses, including Tarmiteshup the scribe. Seals of the above and of Akiptilla.

(Case). For the restoration, cf. e. g., H I 41.

8. We have here further evidence that the *kaspu* obtained against real estate may be described as given likewise (-ma) into *ditenmātu*, a circumstance that seems to favor my interpretation of the term as "possession," cf. JAOS 52.361.

28. In the present context *ušešā* has the specialized value of "free," see *ibid.* 360 and cf. Heb. *yāšā'*, Ex. 21: 3, etc.

34. For this clause see the reference ad 27.10.

62

Document of *ditenmātu* of Akiptilla son of Ki(?)pariya; his son Kinniya into *ditenmātu* for five years (5) Akiptilla gave to Urhikushuh son of the King. Three *imēr* of emmer (and) one *imēr* fifty *sila* of barley Urhikushuh to Akiptilla has given. (10) When the five years have expired, Akiptilla shall return to Urhikushuh three *imēr* of emmer (and) one *imēr* five *sātu* of barley (and) his son Kinniya he shall take back. (15) If the work of Urhikushuh for a single day Kinniya should leave, one mina of copper as compensation day by day Akiptilla (20) to Urhikushuh shall pay as fine. The tongue of Akiptilla before these witnesses spoke as follows: "One *imēr* of emmer (and) (25) one *imēr* five *sātu* of barley from Puhishenni son of Mushapu, the *amumiḫuru* of Uhhikushuh I have received and have been compensated in full.

(30-5) Six witnesses, including Elhiptilla the scribe.

(36) The tablet was written in the gate.

(37-43) Seals of the above and of Akiptilla.

This document adds nothing to our knowledge of security transactions. It mentions, however, another son of the King (5) and it introduces a new Hurrian technical term, viz., *amumi(ḫ)ḫuru* (27). This word (here with the Akkadian genitive ending) may mean simply "representative." However, a special reference to some position in connection with farm work is more probable in view of Hurrian *be-ni-ḫu-rū* (N 49.36) which is the equivalent of Akkadian *mušehū* "surveyor." Cf. Koshaker, NKRA 67 note 2, who reads the word *beniḫuaš* (with the Hurrian subject suffix); but the last sign of *a-mu-mi-ḫu-ri* establishes the second element common to both words as *-ḫuru*,

which may designate agricultural occupations. For *amumi*, cf. the personal name *Amumi-Tesup*, N 533.7; H II 103.38, et al.

18. For *urīḫul* etc. see 27.10 ff.

63

Document of *ditennūtu* of Shukriya son of Ri[musharri]; Arteshshe son of Hanaya himself into *ditennūtu* (5) in place of one slave of three cubits from the land of the Lullu for twenty years into the house of Shukriya entered. When Arteshshe has completed twenty years in the house of Shukriya, (10) one slave of three cubits from the land of the Lullu, in good health, Arteshshe to Shukriya shall return and himself he shall free. If Arteshshe the work of Shukriya for a single day (15) leaves, one mina of copper as compensation Arteshshe to Shukriya shall pay as fine.

(18-33; 36) Nine witnesses, including Nanna-rēši the scribe. Seven seals.

(34-5) This tablet was written after the proclamation in front of the gate.

5. The principal value of this text is that it restricts the possibilities of interpreting *ammātu* in connection with slaves. As matters stand, even this negative contribution will be helpful. Let us first list the passages in which this use of the term has been known thus far:

N 113.10-1: *I su-ḫa-ru ša 2 [i]-na [a]m-ma-ti [x]-a-[x]ú-ba-ni*

N 312.11-2: *I su-ḫa-ra ša 2 am-ma-ti ú ma-lu-ti I su-ḫa-ar-tu, ša KI.MIN-ma*

N 317.10: *I su-ḫa-ru ša 2 am-ma-ti ú ma-lu-ti*

To this may be added two unpublished passages supplied by Dr. Lacheman:

SMN 2595.6-7: *I wardudu, ša 2-na am-ma-ti*

SMN 2617.8-10: *I su-ḫa-ru wardudu, ša KURNu-ul-lu-a-e ša 2-na am-ma-ti ú ša ma-lu-ti*

In all these passages the slave in question is required to be of two *a*. and of *m*. If the former term is taken in its common value of "cubit," the question naturally arises as to how a servant who is so small could be of practical value (cf. note to 15.8). Or does *a*. represent here something else than a measure, in spite of the probable *ina* that precedes it in the unfortunately damaged N 113.10 (in which case the following *ú-ba-ni* would not be the word for "finger")? Yet "two" is confirmed by the phonetic complement of the SMN passages given above. As for *ma-lu-ti*, is it derived from *malā*, or do we have here some other word, perhaps the *maluṭtu* discussed by Landsberger in ZA NF 8.166 (to which my attention has been called by Goetze)?

Now some of these uncertainties can be eliminated. The occurrences in the present text of 3 for the customary 2, and the absolutely clear *ina* leave no room for doubt that *ammātu* is used here as a measure. Whatever its exact length, the possibility of varying the specifications by as much as one-third suggests that the slaves in question were obtained while quite young. With this accords the fact that in all but two of the passages the term *ṣuḫāru* "youth" has been employed.

That *ma-lu-ti* is not descriptive of *ammātu* would follow from the preceding *ša* in SMN 2617.10. Some indication of fitness is consequently to be expected.

64

The tongue of Ariggirhe son of Kushshiya from [...]rishpa before these witnesses spoke as follows: "Five *imēr* of barley (5) from Unaptae son of Taya I(!) received and one *imēr* of *kaška*-land of Unaptae, from the district of Alta, into *ditennūtu* to Unaptae I have given. (10) When I have returned to Unaptae the five *imēr* of barley, then that land I shall get back. If the *kaška*-land is released (in the meantime) to its owner, in that case those five *imēr* of barley I (15) to Unaptae shall return.

(16) Seal of Ariggirhe.

(17-8) This tablet was written in the gate of °Anzugallu.

(19-29) Seals of nine witnesses, including Hashiptilla the scribe.

This document furnishes some new material on the question of *kaška* which I discussed in JAOS 52.302 ff. It cannot be said, however, that the problem as a whole receives much illumination from the present text. To be sure, we see once more that the *kaška* is something that may be disposed of by one party while the land is owned by someone else; for the deponent assigns the *kaška* as security, though the land may be released by him to its owner. But, unless line 7 is a scribal oversight, the land belongs to the same (-ma) Unaptae who now receives it as security. I would suggest tentatively this explanation: U. owns the land while A. has the *kaška*-rights to it; these rights are now ceded to U. for the duration of the loan which he has granted to A. If the *kaška* is in the meantime restored to A., for reasons that are not specified, then the loan will be repaid simultaneously. But perhaps this is no explanation at all.

65

Document of *ditennūtu* of Sharteya son of Hanatu. Five *aweḥaru* of land in the fields of °Nuzi, below the land of the palace, (5) north of the land of Giliya, above the °Ataggal Road, and south of the land of Kulahupi; another strip of one(?) *kumanu* of land above the road of the Pui district and to the north of the land (10) of Meshmani, altogether five *aweḥaru* (and) one(?) *kumanu* of land, the share of Arteya, as *ditennūtu* for six years to Kulahupi son of Shukriya he has given. And Kulahupi one ox of four (years), sound, to Sharteya has given. When (15) the six years of the land have expired, one sound ox of four (years) Sharteya will return to Kulahupi and his land he shall take back. If the land is large, he shall not curtail it, if the land is (20) small, he shall not enlarge it; if the land has a claimant, Sharteya shall clear it and to Kulahupi he shall deliver (it). If the land has been plowed over, it shall not be [taken]. (25) Whoever violates the contract in the course of the six years, shall furnish one sound ox of four years. The document was written in °Nuzi after the proclamation.

(29-37) Seven witnesses and signature of Abi-īlu, the scribe.

(38) The above are the witnesses who supervised the payment of the ox.

(38-46) Seals of the same and of Shartheya.

(47-50) The year of the writing of the document (was) when the *ašuhū* ("fir")-wood was returned from the land of Hanigalbat; and (then) it was written.

This document adds nothing to our knowledge of *dītennātu* transactions. Its chief interest lies in its quaint and novel date formula. Just what the "return" of *ašuhū* wood from Hanigalbat may signify is not easy to guess. Do we have here a record of an indemnity paid by Mitanni after Arrapha, which had previously been conquered and presumably sacked, had been made a province of the Mitanni Empire? The letter of Saushshatar (H II 1; cf. JAOS 49.269 ff.) already presupposes such a relationship. But the present scribe is a son of the well-known Nabū-ilu, so that the year in question would scarcely antedate the generation of Ennamati. Needless to add, this year is not celebrated in the Assyrian annals.

8. The use of *kumanu* in this line and in line 10 seems to prove conclusively that this land measure is not to be identified with *aweḫaru*, as is assumed by Koschaker, NKRA 25. The first strip of land comprises five *aweḫaru*, the second a *kumanu*; the total reads five *aweḫaru*, *mala kumanu*. Thus, whatever may be the precise value of *kumanu* and the exact force of *mala* (= "one"?), the two land measures in question are not to be confused with each other.

10. *qassum* is a curious nominative incorporating the possessive suffix of the third person "a his share." For a similar hybrid cf. *mimmu-šunšu-ya*, H I 72.29. The employment of such forms in the jargon of Nuzi was facilitated, no doubt, by the stereotyped nature of the phrases in which they generally occurred.

23. For *mayaru* as an actual cause for dispute, cf. JAOS 55.428 ff. (text No. 2).

35 and 40. The writings *Niḫer-tilla* and *Nirḫi-tilla* for the same person and in the same tablet reflect one of the outstanding phonetic peculiarities of the Nuzi dialect: metathesis of the sonorous sounds, particularly when compared with other dialects with a similar Hurrian substratum; cf. e.g., Nuzi *irwi* and Western *ieri*; within the Nuzi dialect we have *ehli-p* and *elḫi-p*, and the like. Metathesis of an entire syllable, but following an *r*, is seen in Nuzi *k/gurpizu* (also in Urartean? cf. Thureau-Dangin, Sargon 378, and ff.) as against Amarna *gurz/sipu*, Knudtzon, Index.

66

Document of *dītennātu* of land; eight *aweḫaru* of land to the north of the land of ¹Aruna and above the land of ¹Aruna, (5) south of the land of Giwarari, (and) below the land of Urhiteshup, in the field of ²Unapshewa, into *dītennātu* for five years Puitae son of Eteya (10) to Nushapu son of Purnazini gave. And Nushapu five *imēr* of barley, one *imēr* of wheat, three minas of lead, two male spring lambs with their wool, one female lamb of nine (months) with its wool, (15) these into *dītennātu* for that land Nushapu to Puitae has given. When the five years according to the wording of this tablet have expired, (20) five *imēr* of barley, one *imēr* of wheat, three minas of lead,

two male spring lambs with (their) wool, and one female lamb with (its) wool Puitae to (25) Nushapu shall return and his land he shall take back. If the land has a claim (against it) Puitae shall clear (it) and restore to Nushapu. (30) These sheep with their wool in the month of Kispatu of *iškiki* Puitae received and in the same month he shall return (them).

(34-46) Five witnesses and signature of Tarmitilla the scribe. Seals of the above and of Puitae owner of the land.

(47-9) This tablet was written after the proclamation in the gate of ^cUnapshe.

10. The name Nushapu appears in the next text as Mushapu, although the same person is referred to throughout; moreover, the scribe is also the same in both instances. To be sure, the present text antedates the next one (cf. *ibid.* 11 ff.), so that the change may be the result of some special development in this particular case. It is interesting to note that Akkadian *mūšabu* "seat" appears in Nuzi with *n*; cf. *nu-ša-bi-šu*, TCL 9.1, 5, and see M. Berkooz, OPNA, under "Nasals."

31. The "Month of *Kispātu*" is evidently "The time of the funeral offerings." For a special day set aside for such offerings in the Babylonian rituals, cf. Langdon, Babylonian Menologies 148. The month in question would correspond to Ab (*ibid.* 20-3). The native proper name answering this general description may be the *warabšehali ša Nergal*, Gadd 80.8. That deliveries of wool and its products were indeed made in the month of Sheh(a)li may be seen from N 314.15. As for *iškiki*, the reading *mil-ki-mil-ki* is also possible, but no adequate interpretation suggests itself.

67

The tongue of Mannu-mahirshu son of Naisheri before these witnesses spoke as follows: "Two *imēr* of land in the field of (5) ^cUnapshewa, to the north and below the boundary of the Irripiya district, to the south of the land of Apenari, (and) above the road of ^cApenash," (10) thus further Mannu-mahirshu, "That land formerly Ennapali, the brother of Mushapu son of Purnazini, in exchange for forty minas of copper and (15) in exchange for five *imēr* of barley into *ditenūtu* to Hamanna son of Shurkituri my grandfather gave. And now one sound ox four years old in place of the (20) forty minas of copper and in place of the five *imēr* of barley from Mushapu I have received and have been paid in full. That land to Mushapu I have released." If (25) Mannu-mahirshu on account of that land against Mushapu raises complaints, one mina of silver (and) one mina of gold to Mashapu he shall pay as fine. The tablet after the proclamation (10) in the gate of ^cUnapshewa was written.

(32-48) Nine witnesses, including Tarmitilla the scribe. Eight seals.

17. Note the interesting compound *abābi* "grandfather."

19. For Hurrian *tumn-arpū* "four-year-old," see Appendix A.

68

Thus Katiri son of Shennaya: "Taya son of Arteya for the payment of (a fine of) sheep (5) the judges committed (to me). Now, on this day, these sheep as a charge against Taya I have removed."

(9-14) Six seals, including that of Urhiteshup, the scribe.

69

The tongue of Tani brother of Wahrisheni in the presence of judges spoke: (5) "Formerly one *imēr* of land Wahrisheni to Ennamati son of Tehiptilla gave and since seven years ago (10) that land he(!) has kept. Wahrisheni was the giver of the land, Ennamati should return it." And (15) the suit of Tani is to be decided. Memorandum document.

(19-22) Four seals.

Unless we take *aklāšš* as yet another example of the common Nuzi substitution of first for third person (see Appendix B), the text will make little sense. Otherwise there would be no lawsuit to decide. Note also the present form (with imperat. force) of *uppala*.

18. For *huzzuzi* instead of the usual *tahšilti* cf. H I 35.9, where the final *ri* is an obvious error for *zi* (I so corrected it in my copy on my first reading of that text). [Cf. also H III 197.13 *hu-su-zi-iš*, which, as Meek's mimeographed sheet of corrections points out, is not a personal name but an infinitive with the ending *-iš*. The occurrence of this form in an old Akkadian tablet from Nuzi, about a thousand years older than our text, is an interesting indication of its persistence.]

70

Shatutae son of Nulteshup with Wurteshup son of Urhiteshup in a lawsuit before the judges appeared and thus (declared) Shatutae: (5) "Wurteshup came to me and thus he (spoke), 'Verily, Ipshahalu (instructed me) as follows: Bring to me your (i. e., Shatutae's) chariot that I may go to the City of the Gods.' And he took the chariot and these three months he has kept it. And now (10) I demand my chariot. He will not give it (to me)." And the judges inquired of Wurteshup. Thus Wurteshup: "Yes, Ipshahalu dispatched me and the chariot from Shatutae (15) I(!) took." And the judges (further) questioned Wurteshup: "The chariot that you took, where is it?" Thus Wurteshup: "The chariot is in 'Anzugallu." In accordance with the declaration of Wurteshup (20) Shatutae prevailed in the lawsuit and the judges to Wurteshup spoke: "Go and a chariot just like the one which you took from Shatutae (25) a chariot exactly like it, to Shatutae return."

(28-34) Seals of three judges and signature of Akiya, the scribe.

6. Here *ta* serves to introduce the speech of a third party and, incidentally, to lend it emphasis.

15. *itēgi* is surely another instance of the use of the third person instead of the first, just as *irid* in line 10 is an example of the converse type of substitution; cf. Appendix B.

16. Here *ding* is a variant of *aynu*, etc. "where?"

23 ff. The translation is somewhat forced in an effort to follow the text. The decision must have been to the effect that inasmuch as Shatutae's own chariot was out of reach, and probably also in poor condition from long and unauthorized use, a new chariot of the same type was to be returned to the plaintiff. For *kimā-kinanna* cf. H I 6.16 ff.

30 ff. The identification "judge" on each of the three seals confirms a long-held view that the names appended in lawsuits were those of the judges.

71

Eatupki before Kartutti made an appeal. Thus he (declared): "Apukka has been wronging me; by force (5) in his house he has caused me to be confined." And Kartutti delegated Ehliteshup; thus he (instructed him): "Take with you judges and attend to the lawsuit of Eatupki."

(10) Apukka with Eatupki in a lawsuit before the judges appeared. Thus (declared) Eatupki: "Apukka has wronged me." And the document concerning Apukka before the judges (15) he produced and they read in it the verdict to the effect that the judges, (namely) Akiptasheni, Sharriya, Shiyati, and Zini, these four judges Eatupki for fifty *imēr* of barley (20) and for one ox to Apukka had committed. Apukka (again) prevailed in the lawsuit: the judges Eatupki for one slave-girl (25) to Apukka (re)committed. Because Eatupki had his case tried a second time, therefore for one ox as judge's fee) to Akiptasheni, for one ox to Zini as judge, (30) for one ox to Shiyati as judge, (and) for one ox to Sharriya as judge, the judges committed Eatupki, because his suit he had repeated.

(34) Seals of six judges, and signature of Ennamati, the scribe.

This important record throws further light on certain aspects of legal procedure at Nuzi (appeal, fee to each of the previous judges who have not been overruled, six judges who hear the appeal).

1. Note that the introduction is unusual, lacking as it does the customary formula (which is delayed till line 10) but stating the case at once; cf. N 332 and Koschaker, OLTZ 1936.1529.

2. Kartutti, to whom the case is appealed, is a *ḥazannu* (cf. No. 7.20), or perhaps *ṣakin māti* (cf. N 321.9). *ḥanu/ḥandnu* (cf. 7.20) is clearly the technical term denoting "appeal from a previous ruling."

4. The verb *ḥabālu* denotes judicial unfairness, cf. N 332.7, and Koschaker, loc. cit.

5. *uṣēriḫanni* has the specialized connotation of "he caused me to enter as an *erreḫ*, or a *ditenu*." That E. had been committed to A. as surety pending the payment of a fine imposed by the judges is explained in line 25.

8. The last sign of *it-ti-ka* is not absolutely certain, being closer in shape to *iḫ*, but the context plainly requires *ka*.

15. *U'tu*, the abstract noun corresponding to (*ina dāni*) *iltē-ma*, signifies something like "a favorable decision in a lawsuit" cf. *tuppu* . . . *ša ina dāni lē'u*, N 368.11-13.

27 and 33. *šina-tu(m)ma epēšu* "do a second time" is another one of the *-umma epēšu* clauses, so characteristic of these documents, with the Hurrian numeral *šina* "two." The related *šinamumma epēšu* "duplicate, replace" (H I 30.28, 32) was explained in FL 17n.36. The slight difference in meaning must be ascribed to the respective formatives *-tu* and *-mu*. For the former we may perhaps compare *šin-t-arpū* by the side of *šin-arpū* "two-year-old"; see Appendix A.

72

Unaya son of Hampizi with Akawatil son of Tarmiya in a lawsuit before the judges appeared. (5) Thus Unaya: "In the country Akawatil struck me." And the tongue of Akawatil before the judges spoke: "Yes, (10) we engaged in a fight one with the other." And because they directed their tongues and said, We fought together, the judges the injuries (15) of the two of them examined. And the head of Unaya at *x x* had been injured and [blood] had been let, and (20) *x* their injuries *x x*. In the lawsuit Unaya prevailed and the judges Akawatil in accordance (25) with his own admission for the payment of thirty shekels of silver, (i. e.?) for one ox, [one] ass, and ten sheep to Unaya assigned.

(29-35) Signature of Nabū-ilu the scribe. Six seals.

This text is a record of a lawsuit arising from assault. Again the tablet is damaged at what was clearly the most interesting part of the proceedings. On the whole, however, the case and the terminology recall H II 10.

6. For *ina EDIN.NA* (*ina šēri*), cf. H I 52.7. The expression corresponds to Middle Assyrian *ina kidi* (for this phrase, cf. Driver-Miles, Assyrian Laws 459 f.), with which may be contrasted *kibbi āli*; our *ina sāqi* (cf. note at 42.17), however, is not used as the opposite of *ina šēri*, having been specialized in a juristic sense. It is interesting to note that Heb. *baḥḥāṣ* "outside" may share the values of both *ina šēri* and *ina sāqi*. For the purposes of the present case, the question of whether *ina šēri* is of legal significance is an important one. We know that a burglary inside the house drew double the penalty of an outside theft (cf. Cross MPND, under "Cattle"). Unfortunately for the present discussion, the phraseology of lines 25-6 (see below) is ambiguous, so that direct evidence on this point is lacking. In other words, "in the country" may be purely a descriptive phrase, or else a point bearing on the ultimate verdict.

13. The statement, *nīntaḥḥeš* "WE fought," made by the defendant is an admission of complicity if not of guilt.

16. for *imtanā*, cf. 56.17.

20.1. The damaged condition of this passage spares us some of the lurid details, but excites our linguistic curiosity.

25 ff. Is the *mulle* of "thirty shekels" meant merely as the equivalent of or as an addition to the "one ox, one ass, and ten sheep"? Dr. Cross (loc. cit.) has shown that the two items were legally convertible. If line 26 is only a gloss to line 25, the present penalty would correspond to that for burglary, or assault (cf. H I 48) in the open;

this indeed seems to be the case. On the other hand, if the two items are to be taken concurrently, the penalty would be a double one. In either instance, however, the conclusion of Dr. Cross as regards the equivalence of the two amounts, is brilliantly borne out by this passage.

28. *ittadin* is evidently an instance of confusion of *naddnu* with *nadā*.

29 ff. Note the presence of six judges as in No. 71.

73

Wantiya son of Ehlipapu against Nirhitilla son of < ? > in a lawsuit before judges appeared. Thus Wantiya: (5) "To Nirhitilla I am not in debt; and (yet) for a claim he committed me, and for two days as a result of (that) claim I was committed." And the judges questioned Nirhitilla. And thus Nirhitilla: (10) "Wantiya my debtor went bail and into custody I committed him." The judges requested witnesses of Nirhitilla. Thus Nirhitilla: (15) "Shatenshuh is my witness and there are no other witnesses." The judges questioned Shatenshuh, and thus Shatenshuh: "No indeed! I am not a witness. Their matters (20) I do not know." The judges spoke to Nirhitilla: "Go and (concerning) Wantiya take the oath of the gods against him." Shekaru son of Kushuya, Taika (25) son of Apushki, and Giraya son of Zilipnitilla, these three men the judges as deputies to the gods delegated. From the gods Nirhitilla shrank. In the lawsuit Wantiya prevailed (30) and the judges committed Nirhitilla for his having cast claims to Wantiya for one ox.

(34-7) Signature of Urhite the scribe, and three seals.

6. Here and in lines 7 and 31 the noun is evidently *seḫā*, rather than some synonym of *uḫertu* (line 12).

74

Thus 'Shuhurnaya: "(May I perish) if fifteen *imēr* of barley, nine *imēr* of wheat, eight *sātu* [of peas], six pigs, one *tallu* of oil, (5) thirty sheep, if these, the property of Kipiya, my husband, Naniya and Kulahupi did not appropriate and (then) deny it!"

(10) Thus Naniya, and thus [Kulahupi]: "(May we perish) if fifteen *imēr* of barley, nine *imēr* of wheat, eight *sātu* of peas, (15) six [pigs], one *tallu* of oil, thirty sheep, if [these] (goods) belonging to Kipiya, the [...], concerning which Shu(hu)urnaya has spoken we took and (20) now deny it."

Concerning these words (25) they shall go to the river ordeal. Whoever withholds himself shall be put to death. A matter of burglary.

(23, 28-30) Four seals.

This is another instance where the implications of the *šumma*-oath are taken literally by the judges: the ordeal will bring death to one of the parties.

4. According to unpublished texts the *tallu*-pot (RI) contained either eight or ten *gā* precisely as the dry measure *sātu*.

75

Thus 'Kuritu: "(May I perish) if Tultu did not slander me and if she did not speak thus, (5) 'You are the handmaid of Ithapu!' And if I did not say, 'Why am I the handmaid of Ithapu? I am the handmaid of the King!' And if 'Tultu did not say, (10) '[...] feudal tenant(?) the King to Ithapu has(!) given.'"

Thus 'Tultu: "Yes, I did defame 'Kuritu (15) and I certainly did speak to 'Kuritu thus, 'You are the handmaid of Ithapu! And indeed (20) 'Kuritu said, 'Why am I the handmaid of Ithapu? Am I not the handmaid of the King?' And I said indeed, 'Yes indeed! (25) We know this and that.' And I certainly did say, '[...] feudal tenant(?) the king [.....]'"

Concerning these words (30) they shall go to the river ordeal. She who withholds herself(?) shall be put to death.

(32-36) Three seals and signature of Annishu the scribe.

This document is unusual in several respects. Unlike other *šumma*-declarations, the accused does not deny the allegations, but appears rather to take a savage delight in reaffirming them. So serious is the matter that the loser in the river ordeal will pay with her life.

Unfortunately, quarrels of this type, recorded as they are in direct discourse, can make little sense to detached readers of a later generation, who are, moreover, unable to follow any of the allusions that must have been plain to the local contemporaries. Nor is the text in good condition, though this situation may not have been accidental. Two lines (8 and 28) were erased by the scribe, and it is very significant that both had contained statements involving the King. Do we have here the result of some kind of censorship?

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that the above translation does not give consistently the same English value to a given Akkadian word (cf., e.g., the forms of *našālu* in lines 3 and 14) or phrase. For although the statements of the two bitter enemies confirm each other, they were made clearly with varying degrees of emphasis.

3, 14. *našālu* (with *s* in the prefix forms) with *ittī* has the value of "complain about," the preposition introducing the thing or person in question. In the present text something that is at once stronger and more flexible is required. The underlying idea is that of defamation.

7 f. It is plain from the context that the servant of the King would not be confused with that of any other dignitary. Unless the present dispute is not at all representative, involving more than is immediately apparent, false statements in such cases were regarded as offenses that were punishable at times by death.

10 f. Do these two verses mean that the King gave Kuritu to Ithapu to perform feudal tasks? If so, the verb is in the wrong person, which would, of course, be nothing unusual in Nuzi.

25. A freer translation would be: "We know a thing or two!"

30. We expect *ig-gal-lu/ma* (cf. 74.25). The precise sense and, for that matter, even the derivation of this verb are still open to question. All that is certain is that the state or action thus indicated signified loss of the trial by ordeal. The tentative translation given above is that adopted by Driver-Miles, *Assyrian Laws* 87.

31. Inasmuch as Kuritu's charge is not denied by Tultu, one wonders at the necessity of a trial by ordeal and at the severity of the ultimate punishment. Does the indirect insult to the crown play any part in the affair? [Or is the truth of Tultu's allegation the real point at issue?]

76

Unto Shehramushni say: "Thus Tatipteshup, 'The domestics of (5) Shehaltheshup went forth to glean barley in the Merchants' district, but they stole (other grain).' (10) Now all the thieves among them let Shehaltheshup name. Do you seize them (5) and produce them before the King."

The sense of this terse message is plainly that servants, who had come ostensibly to glean, appropriated grain to which they were not entitled. The fact that gleaning was permitted gives us yet another close parallel between the Nuzi texts and the Bible.

8. For this rare form cf. 8.7.

77

One woman of the palace for five talents of copper Ili-ittiya, the merchant, took. And on (5) the arrival of his caravan, for the five talents of copper (the equivalent) in cedar, cypress, tamarisk, (10) (and) myrtle wood, in *x* and *x*, in blue and red purple wool, (15) and in rouge extracted from worms Ili-ittiya shall produce and in the palace to Taya deliver.

(20) Seal of Ili-ittiya, the merchant.

The bearing of this text on the etymology of the name "Phoenician" was discussed in *Language*. 12, 121 ff. The published occurrences of *kinaḥḥu* will be found listed in Cross, MPND, under "Wool and Clothing." Dr. Lacheman kindly supplies the following two additional passages:

SMN 751: 4 MA.NA *ki-na-aḥ-ḥé a-na* 2 KUSMES *ša bi-ir-ma* 2 MA.NA *ta-ki-il-tà a-na* 2 *ta-pa-lu-tu, MES mar-ta-du* 1 MA.NA *ta-ki-il-tà ta-bar-ru à šu-ra-at-ḥa*

SMN 1150: 1 MA.NA *ta-ki-il-tà ki-na-aḥ-ḥu à šu-ra-at-ḥa* 46 SU *ta-ki-il-tà ta-bar-ru à šu-ra-at-ḥa* 5 SU à 40 *ḥé-it-nu ta-ki-il-tà ta-bar-ru à šu-ra-at-ḥa*

It is obvious that *kinaḥḥu*, *tabarru*, *šuratiḥa/u* (since *šuratiḥu* is found with the determinative GIS—cf. e. g., Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon* 206—this term must designate, among others, a vegetable dye), and *kinaḥḥu* all refer to dyes. Of these, *takiltu* (cf. also Knudtzon, *Amarna* 25. III 75, and Index) is evidently equivalent to the above *uḡnu* (wr. ZA.GINMES) with the sense of "blue purple." *kinaḥḥu* is proved to be a subshade of *tabarru* by SMN 2598, 6-7 (*ta-bar-ru-šu ki-na-aḥ-ḥu*), a passage supplied by

Dr. Lacheman. It follows then that *kinaḫḫu* denotes a special variety of "red purple." The connection of this term with the geographical name *mātKinaḫḫi*, *Kinaḫni/a* "Canaan," is supported by the internal evidence of the present text. The merchant is to pay the purchase price of the slave girl upon the return of his caravan. The first item among the goods specified as payment is "cedar wood," whose source of supply was in Syria. The technical term for this particular variety of "red purple" was thus based on the native name for "Phoenicia." Conversely, the Greeks designated the Phoenicians and Phoenicia after their own name for "red purple," viz., *phoinix*.

11-2. The two special terms are obscure as to meaning. Does *metru* have anything to do with *watāru*, in which case the phrase would mean something like "more or less of the one or the other item"? Or does the first word correspond to the vegetable *miṭ/tru*; cf. the references in Meissner, *Studien zur assyrischer Lexikographie* II 16 (line 135)?

15. For *ḫuruḫurati* cf. Meissner, BAW I 46 ff.

78

Four cloths and ten sets of pullovers of secondary quality, belonging to the palace, Arraphari (5) son of Ishtiri, the merchant, for traffic received. And as the price for them (line 8-10 damaged and uncertain) (11) of the houses of the palace in Nuzi he shall return.

(14) Seal of Arraphari, the merchant.

1-2. For TÖG "cloth," or the like, rather than "garment" and for GÜ.Š = *naḫlapṭu*, which ideographically represents something like a "pullover" and according to its Akkadian equivalent a "cloak," cf. Cross, MPND, under "Wool and Clothing." On *ḫinaḫḫu* see Appendix A.

4. Is the name Arraphari primarily a trade name? The "Arraphan" would be quite suitable for a travelling merchant.

79

The tongue of Hashiptilla son of Kipuya before these witnesses spoke: "One cloth of good quality (5) for sale, for traffic, from Wur[teshup] I have received; and (!) two shekels of pure silver (10) from (the proceeds of) the caravan in the month of Ḫu-RI.ŠI. to Wurteshup I shall give. And when [Hashiptilla] the two shekels of silver (10) has brought to the house of Wurteshup, then Wurteshup one male sheep twice plucked (20) to Hashiptilla son [of Kipuya shall return]. (Rest of reverse destroyed.)

(22-4) Four seals.

5. DAM.GAR/QAR-šī is interesting morphologically as well as semantically. According to the context, the word is synonymous with *tankarrātu* (cf. e.g., H II 2.5), which in turn has much the same value as *tadmīqtum* in the Code of Hammurabi Ir 17 (cf. *Der Alte Orient* 31.3/4 note 4), viz., "profit, speculation," hence "traffic" in general. But what is the origin of the final -šī? In SMN 2359 capital is given out

ana šiptiti à DAM.QAR-šIMEŠ (line 4), while further on in the same text (lines 9-10) we hear of *gaqqadudu šiptiti-šu* à *gaqqad(u)* DAM.QAR-šIMEŠ. Now the plural sign presents no problem, inasmuch as it is often employed inorganically in the Nuzi texts (cf. now Berkooz, OPNA, under "Plural"); at best, it may indicate the presence of a long vowel (or consonant), not necessarily final, which would then point to the reading (or at least the value) *tamkarrātu* (cf. 74.6), but scarcely to the length of -šī, which could have been expressed more simply through *šī-i. (An analysis of the occurrences of the inorganic MEŠ, as listed in Berkooz, loc. cit., will show that the sign is used to indicate not only final and medial length—e. g., *imātūMEŠ*, N 337.8; *išaggaIMEŠ*, N 284.22; *šitMEŠ* i, H I 40.7—but also feminines, collectives—e. g., *da-meMEŠ*, H II 10.9—and the like). Since -šī is hardly part of the original ideogram (as indicated by the transliteration), some other explanation of its use is needed. I take it as the Hurrian abstract formative, calling attention for the present to *irwiššī*, N 89.10; cf. also the acc. form in N 28.24, 33.19 (see Koschaker, NKRA 15, and for the form, cf. FL 14 note 28), and *nira/iššī/e* (Koschaker, ibid. 14). The MEŠ of SMN 2359 would hark back, then, to the length of the first vowel in the Akkadian abstract ending -*ātu*. Perhaps the strongest support for the view that Hurrian -šī (originally exponent of the action noun? cf. FL loc. cit.) signified abstracts is the fact that even the Akkadian synonym of *irwiššī*, viz., *ilku*, is supplied with the plural sign in *il-ka*, N 13.19. To be sure, the above argument has followed a criss-cross path; but the satisfactory check of its bearings at each stage lends assurance that the goal reached is the correct one.

10. The reading of the month-name *Uu-RI-ŠI* occasions considerable difficulties. On the basis of N 116.4 (*Uu-ri-še-e*) one is naturally inclined to read *Uu-ri-šī* in all the passages where the final syllable is expressed as ŠI. But unpublished texts complicate the issue. SMN 557.21 has plainly *ina ITUHu-ta-al-lim*; on the other hand, we have *ina ITU(b)Uu-ri-še* in 95.8 and in SMN 964.19, et al. Apparently, we have to distinguish carefully between the two, and where the writing is ambiguous, the transliteration must resort to capitals.

80

One mina thirty-two shekels of copper out of the copper for the sickles of the palace which Kulahupi to (5) Paitilla had given, now then that one mina thirty-two shekels of copper for the door of [...] which is in the town of [...] (10) in charge of Paitilla has been given.

Seal of Paitilla.

2. For *ni-gal-la* cf. H II 40.3.

81

Ten talents seven minas thirty shekels of *h*-copper Heltipteshup (5) and Karmisha from the storage house of Nuzi have withdrawn.

3. The precise meaning of the term *erū ḥamuzu* remains to be determined. In the Nuzi texts copper may also be described as *mesū*, "washed, purified," or better still, *mezū* 'mixed'; cf. D. Cross, MPND.

8. *našāru* occurs frequently in these texts in the sense of "taking off a given share," as tax payment, etc.

82

Twenty shekels of *šešimtena* from the storage house were removed (50) (and) given to Akkulenni.

(7) Seal of Akkulenni.

1. The small quantity of the material removed from the storage house favors the interpretation that *š* represents some kind of metal. N 294.10 mentions 1 *ŠU še-ḫé/i-it-ni-ma* GUSKIN. The two new terms are by no means identical, even though they have the same initial syllables; if the second sign of the present term were a scribal error for the not too dissimilar *bi*, there would still be some doubt whether **šešimtena* and *šhitnima* could be equated. In these circumstances it will be best to regard the two terms as unrelated, but referring to similar substances.

In this connection attention may be called to 1 MA.NATA.A-AN *še-iš-ši-mur*, cf. Ebeling-Meissner-Weidner, *Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* p. 52 line 18, and see Ebeling's note, *ibid.* n. 16.

83

One chariot as the contribution of *Nuzi to the Resident (5) of the land of Hanigalbat on the feast of Ginuni of the City of the Gods was given.

(10) Seal of Shurkitilla son of Akiptashenni.

4. For *Lū-pa-ru-ū-ti* SMN 3292.16 has plain (*a-na*) *ū-pa-ri*, also from the land of Hanigalbat. The abstract form must, then, designate an office. That the office was an important one is clear not only from the present passage, but also from SMN 589 (communicated by Dr. Lacheman) where the official receives thirty golden cups. Meissner has demonstrated (*Mit. d. altor. Ges.* III 3.45) that *ubāru* has the value of "sojourner." In the Amarna letters (Knudtzon 20.73) the term seems to have the general meaning of "subject." Here, however, some dignity is clearly indicated. Our translation "Resident" is based on the assumption that the official in question was the representative (something like Governor General, or Ambassador) from the ruling country. This would be a specialized value of "sojourner"; the latter significance is apparent in 7.50.

84

One chariot from Akipapu son of Hashipapu was received and (5) to Arrumti son of < ? > it was delivered. And Arrumti took it to the land of Ashur.

(10) Seal of Hashiptilla son of Hutiya.

8. Free communication with Ashur presupposes settled conditions under the rule of Mitanni kings.

85

One hundred and fifty leg-pieces of *šakkullu* Nihriya son of the King delivered. (5) Ninety leg-pieces for ten offering tables have been given, nine leg-pieces (for each?). Tehiptilla.

The laconic style of this record renders the details ambiguous. Is Tehiptilla the signer of this receipt? If so, line 5 must be taken with the preceding three as a gloss explaining the setting aside of ninety leg pieces for ten tables. Even then the ratio of nine to one remains puzzling. The principal interest of this text lies, however, in the light which it throws upon ceremonial furniture.

2. *GIŠšepitu* is plainly "leg," specifically, it would seem, unfinished and unattached. For the normal *šepu* cf. the passage cited below, to line 6.

3. For *šakkullu* see Goetze, *Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Text des Hattušiliš 60*.

3. The feminine ending endows *p/baššuritu* with a specialized meaning precisely as in the case of *šepitu*; "offering table" is a plausible interpretation. From his files of unpublished Nuzi material Dr. Lacheman contributes the following citations from SMN 859:

10. *10 i-ba-aš-šu-ri-tum ša šu-in-ni* "Ten p. of ivory."

12. *20 i-ba-aš-šu-ri-tum ša šu-pi-šu-nu ša alpi* "Twenty p. whose legs (have the shape) of bull(s)."

14. *10 i-ba-aš-šu-ri-tum tar-zu-ú-tum ša kib-ra la i-šu-ú* "Ten p. *tarzutu* which have no corners."

The ceremonial character of the p. is indicated both by the material (ivory) and by the elaborate workmanship (bull-shaped legs) of these tables. Is *qepra lā iša* merely a circumlocution for "round," or does the phrase emphasize this feature as something of particular significance for the purpose?

86

Three *zillutu*-oxen, twenty-nine cows, bearing, eight oxen three years old, six cows three years old, (5) seven male calves one year old, five female calves one year old, a total of fifty-eight head of cattle, which Shilwateshup to the hand of Belahishu (10) (and) to the hand of Taika delivered.

Four she-asses, bearing, one he-ass three years old, two young (asses), female, two years of age, one ass, male, two years old.

(15) A total of eight asses delivered to the hand of Wirrishtanni.

(17) Seals of the two recipients.

This document adds some technical terms used with domestic animals. For the subject of animals in Nuzi cf. Cross, MPND, ad loc.

1. *zilluti* probably some breed or special quality, less likely age, since we would expect in that case a compound with *-arpu*; cf. Appendix A.

13. *šubheru* proves to be a technical term for two-year-old she-asses.

87

Five *imēr* of barley as seed for five *imēr* of land belonging to 'Uzna, to Kipali (5) have been given. And the lands of 'Uzna are for partnership, and Kipali shall not dispose (of them).

(10) Seal of Kipali.

This text is not sufficient evidence on which to base conclusions with regard to the

Nuzi laws of partnership. Moreover, lines 7-9 are ambiguous, although the form of the verb favors the present translation.

1-2. The direct statement that an *imēr* of land required normally an *imēr* of seed is highly welcome. That the two measures are interdependent was to be expected a priori. This passage supports the view that an *imēr* of land was, at least in theory, of a size that could be sown with a donkey-load of barley.

88

Two imer of field, sown, Naniptilla son of Mushli received; the sown field is the property of Heltiptilla.

One imer of sown field belonging to Heltiptilla Wantishshe son of Shilwaya (received).

(5) One imer of sown field Pinpunna son of Urhiya received. The seed belongs to Heltiptilla and the field to Pinpunna. Now (that) field they (i. e., both) shall till, (10) harvest, and thresh (its grain); the barley and the straw (Pinpunna) together with Heltiptilla evenly (15) shall divide.

(16-9) Seals of Naniptilla, Wantishshe, and Pinpunna, and signature of Shimanni.

11. The form *i-ta-aš-šu-nu* (with the plural suffix referring either to the barley in a collective sense, or else to the plurality of the subjects, as is not uncommon in these documents; cf. Appendix B) is in all probability the present of *dašu* "thresh." The verb would thus correspond approximately to *ina magratti inandin*, CT II 21.12. The alternative of taking the verb as a defective *t*-present of *našū* (the CT passage just quoted contains *inašši* immediately before *ina magratti inandin*) in some such sense as "gather in" is not favored by what follows, where grain and straw (note the determinative *ŠE*) are mentioned separately.

16 ff. It is worthy of notice that among the seals of the contracting parties that of Heltiptilla is not represented.

The even division of the yield on the part of the owners of the field and the seed-corn respectively, the labor having been shared by both, is significant.

89

Twelve *imēr* 1 + 2 measures of sesame-oil, not purified. Seven *imēr* of sesame oil, purified. According to the measure (*sātu*) of eight *qā*.

It follows from this text that the same dual standard of measures which was current for grain was used also for oil. For the *sātu* of ten *qā*, cf. H II 66.2, and for one of eight *qā*, see *ibid.* 4, 8, 10.

90

Ten thousand reeds *x* of the palace from ^oNuzi, (5) from Tishammushni, in ^oDūruba to the hand of Tarmitilla (10) son of Tarmiteshup have been delivered.

(12) Seal of Tarmitilla.

1. The value of "ten thousand" for *nu-bi* is established, as Dr. Lacheman informs me, by an unpublished text.

2. *ku-ku-te* is entirely uncertain. If it refers to the palace, the word may indicate some form of payment or contribution. It seems more likely, however, that the term is descriptive of the reeds. Is there here any connection with *šeqš*?

7. For *Dār-ubla*, cf. Meek, H III, Index.

91

Thus A[...] son of Nante[.]: "Nine *imēr* of barley [...] from the barley of Hashuar son of Shimi(?)kari (5) for storage in my house have been placed. (10) On whatever day Hashuar may request them, he shall take them."

(18) Two seals, including that of Adad-īlu-rēšhtū, the scribe.

5. The principal interest in this short text is due to its use of *maškanu* in the sense of "deposit, storage," as is evident from what follows, and not in the otherwise attested sense of "threshing place," which has an entirely different origin; cf. Goetze in AJSL 52.154 ff.

92

Four sheep, male, full-grown, ten lambs, ten sheep, female, bearing, the quota (5) of Shekarzizzaya, which has been apportioned out of ninety-six sheep (and) fifty sheep.

(9-10) Seal of Shekarzizzaya.

4. The use of *mudda maḏḏu* in connection with animals is a curious application of a phrase which must have originated with deliveries of grain, or the like.

It is not certain whether the present payment is merely a partial one, as seems apparent on the surface, or whether it signifies a reduction of an originally larger quota; but in the latter case we should presuppose a fine rather than a straight transaction.

93

Thus Hupita son of Halshenni: "Shurihil son of El[laya] to me for anything (5) is not in debt and against Shurihil I shall not raise claims." And Shurihil thus in turn (declares): "And Hupita to (10) me is not in debt and against Hupita I shall not raise claims." He who violates the declaration, one mina of silver and one mina of gold (15) shall pay as fine.

(16-29) Eight witnesses, including Sin-i(d)dina, the scribe; six seals.

This text is an interesting record of a mutual cancellation of debts by two parties [or of recognition that all debts between them have been adjusted and settled; cf. No. 94].

94

Thus Ziryazzana son of Paitilla, father of Zigi son of Taitilla: "Taitilla to me (5) for one *hullānu*-robe and for two *imēr* of barley has been in debt. Now we have reached an agreement: in place of the two *imēr* of barley and in place of the one *hullānu*-robe (10) 12 minas of lead from Zigi I have received and am paid in full." He who breaks the agreement shall pay a fine of one ox.

(14-19) Five seals, including that of Kinni, the gate-keeper; signature of Nirari, the scribe.

Zigi pays in terms of lead a debt incurred by his father.

10. The sign SAL after the ideogram for "lead" is wholly obscure.

13. D. Cross has shown in her MPND that the ox figuring in fines of this sort had a standard value of 10 shekels.

95

The tongue of Arshawa son of Apil-Amurri before witnesses spoke: "Sixty (shekels) of silver belonging to Ehelteshup son of Taya (5) as the price of one slave-girl I have received. And one slave-girl, of sound (health) and excellent (qualities), from the Lullu land, he has purchased (herewith)." At the end of the month of Hurishe Arshawa shall deliver (her) to Ehelteshup. (10) If on the specified day the slave-girl he has not delivered, one mina of copper for each (missed) day he shall pay as fine. Ipshahalu son of Gelshampa (15) is the guarantor of Arshawa.

(17-22) Six witnesses, including Tarmiya the scribe.

(23-4) The tablet was written after the proclamation.

(25-9) Five seals.

1. The element *Amurri*, which appears here in ideographic form, is written phonetically in the next text, the sequel to the present document.

3. Sixty shekels is a high price for a slave-girl, even though she fulfill the requirements specified in line 3.

6. Note the lack of agreement between *damgaqû* and *na-aš-qû*. It is such utter disregard of all rules of harmony that makes it permissible to transliterate a given ideogram in the correct case although the very next word, in apposition to the ideogram, may have been written out by the Nuzi scribes phonetically, but in the wrong case. The Nuzians paid no attention to such details, brought up as they were on Hurrian, but the transliterator cannot afford to follow suit.

7. Contrast *KURNu-ul-lu* with *KURNu-ul-lu-i* of the following text. I take the former to be "Lullu land," and the latter "the land of the Lullu." The initial *u* is all but invariable, owing perhaps in part to dissimilation.

12. The amount specified here represents the *urîḫul*, which becomes thus definitely established as "compensation," and not "upkeep," as we have been translating in the past.

96

The tongue of Arshawa son of Apil-Amurri in the presence of these witnesses spoke: "One slave-girl from the land of the Lullu to Ehliteshup son of Taya (5) I have owed. And now one slave-girl from the land of the Lullu to Ehliteshup I have given and my hem I have left. From this day the one (10) against the other shall not raise claims. If the slave-girl has a claimant, Arshawa, Kainnani, and Shakuya shall clear her(!) (15) to Ehliteshup they shall restore (her).

(16-28) Six witnesses. Six seals, including that of Nirari the scribe.

13. It is interesting that in addition to Arshawa two others are named as guarantors against possible future vindication, neither of whom, however, is the *māyīš pāti* of the preceding text (line 14).

14. For the plural object suffix confused with the plurality of subjects, cf. Appendix B.

97

One *katinnu* of bronze of which the weight is one mina, and one mina of lead, belonging to the sons of Pulahali, (5) Shurukka son of Aripuriggi took on interest. And in the month of Shehali of the Weather God, together with the interest thereon the lead and bronze Shurukka (10) to the sons of Pulahali shall return.

(12-21) Six witnesses including Tarmitilla the scribe. Four seals.

1. *ka(t)innu* occurs also in Knudtzon 25 II 42, where it is a part of *gu-um-bi* and made of semi-precious stone. If *gumbu* = *guppu* "box," k. may represent decorative braces or bars. A "bar" of bronze would suit the present context very well.

98-100

The last three texts in this volume belong to the same category, one that is not represented in this particular form among the Nuzi documents published so far. They are inventories of horses. They specify the number of the animals, their sex, color, age, and occasionally the country of their origin; finally, the persons are mentioned in whose buildings the horses are stabled, or from whom they have been received.

The stereotyped nature of these texts renders complete translations unnecessary. In a way, this is a fortunate coincidence; for most of the adjectives employed are technical terms whose precise values are unknown. In these circumstances, a composite analysis of the material will constitute the most practical treatment of the subject.

To begin with the known details, No. 100 includes specifications as to age. This may vary from four to seven years. The entries are in Sumerian;

Akkadian and Hurrian terms, such as occur in other types of Nuzi business documents (cf. Appendix A), are not found in this group.

Sex is also indicated ideographically; SAL in No. 98 and NITA in Nos. 99-100.

For the indication of color three Akkadian adjectives are employed: *sāmu* "red, bay," 99. 5; 100. 9, 12, 17, 25, 29; *šalmu* "black, dark," 99. 15, 22; 100. 2, 18; and *pešū* "white, light," 100. 5.

Two countries are cited as places of origin: Han/ligalbat, 99. 2, 25, and ^{KUR}Mu-ur-ku-na-aš, *ibid.* 4, 11. The latter land is in all probability identical with the ^{KUR}HAR-ki (?) of Adad-nirāri II (Broken Obelisk II 20), which lay between the river Habūr and the city of Carchemish, hence in the vicinity of Hanigalbat. Importation from some distance is implied also in 100. 31-3: "A total of twenty horses; these were received from the merchants for the palace."

The doubtful technical terms are listed below in alphabetic order:

amkamannu, 99. 10, 11, 16, 21; 100. 11, 23, 24, 28.

akkannu, 99. 1, 3.

b/pab/prunnu, 99. 2, 6, 24.

b/paritannu, 100. 1.

b/pinkarannu, 100. 4.

elae, 100. 8, 10.

timzu ina kutallišu puḥarrinnu, 100. 6.

zirannu ū meker, 99. 18.

zirramannu, 98. 1; 100. 5.

Obviously, all these terms need not refer to the same sort of specifications. Thus *puḥarrinnu* indicates something that concerns the animal's back (for a related description, cf. N 108. 6), while *mek/q/ger* contributes some detail in addition to *zirannu*. Then, *akkannu* is found by the side of *babrunnu* (99. 3) and *sāmu* (*ibid.* 5). Since the latter term denotes color, *babrunnu* is likely to be another adjective for color, while *akkannu* may refer to age, sex, or breed.

The remaining terms appear together with indications of age (for which we should expect words ending in *-arpu*) and sex. In all likelihood, therefore, they are adjectives denoting color or shade.

A term of related formation seems to be *šeklinnu* used in H II 101. 19 in connection with she-goats.

Two Akkadian phrases are of some interest in this connection. One is *paqid* "stabled," 100. 3. The other is the puzzling *ina abnī^{MES} la nadū*, 98-9-10. Does it mean that the horses had not been driven over rocky paths? Probably so; but we had best accomplish our own path without further speculation.

APPENDIX A

ON SOME HURRIAN NUMERALS

It is a well-known fact that in the cuneiform scripts numerals are expressed ideographically in the vast majority of instances. In consequence, their phonetic values are not attested uniformly well even in Sumerian and Akkadian. In the case of some of the other languages that are represented through the medium of later phases of cuneiform writing, the pronunciation of numerals is virtually unknown to us. There are few Hittite numerals about which we can be certain in spite of the imposing mass of Hittite texts published thus far.¹ Up to the present Urartean has yielded only the values of two cardinal numerals, namely, those for "one" and "ten thousand."² In these circumstances little can be expected of Hurrian, what with the paucity of its inscriptional material and our extremely modest knowledge of the language. It is therefore with an agreeable surprise that we find in the Nuzi texts the values of three Hurrian numerals. One of these confirms older identifications made on the basis of other sources; another corrects an equation previously proposed; and lastly, the third value is entirely new. The evidence to be presented is indirect, but none the less wholly conclusive.

We begin with lists of passages in which the suspect words occur.

- a. 1 ANŠU.SAL *ši-in-ta-ar-pu*, N 102. 10.
1 *sisū a-ta-nu ši-na-ar-pu*, N 360. 5-6.
- b. 1 ANŠU.SAL *ki-qa-ar-pu*, N 292. 13.
1 ANŠU.SAL KAB *ki-ka-ar-pé*, N 297. 19.
1 GUD^{MES} NITA *ki-[qa]-ar-pu*, SMN 2513. 3-4.
1 GUD^{AB} *ša ki-qa-ar-pu*, SMN 2554. 1.
- c. 1 GUD.NITA *damqu^{ad} du-um-na-ar-pu*, No. 67. 19.
1^{en} GUD.SAL *tu₁-um-na-ar-pu*, H II 109. 12.
1 GUD.NITA *damqa^{ad} za/4-na-ar-pu*, SMN 2479. 11.
[1] GUD.NITA *damqa^{ad} du-um-na-a[r-pu]*, *ibid.* 14.

In all the above passages animals (asses, horses, cattle) are introduced that are described respectively as *šin(t)arpu*, *kikarpu*, and *tumnarpu*. The latter word is once written *za/4-na-ar-pu*; but the reading *tumna^{na}-ar-pu* is estab-

¹ Disregarding, of course, the non-Hittite numerals of the Kikkuli tablet. For the Hittite numeral for "one," cf. Goetze, *Language* 11.185 ff.

² See Friedrich, *Einführung ins Urartäische* 18.

lished in this case by the context. The tablet records an ordinary security contract according to which an ox is received (line 11), to be returned at a specified time (line 14). The animal is first described as *sa/4-na-ar-pu*, later on as *du-um-na-ar-pu*, so that the equation $4^{na}-arpu = tumnarpu$ leaves no possible room for doubt.

The above equation leads automatically to the realization that we have in *tumnarpu* a compound containing some equivalent for the numeral "four." The text which supplies this information is as yet unpublished. But evidence of the same nature, though admittedly less compelling, is present in the published material. As a matter of fact, I had reached the conclusion that the compounds with *-arpu* are Hurrian terms containing numerals before I had an opportunity to examine the SMN document in question. The evidence is found in parallel passages which deal with the animals that have been listed above. Thus we have asses described as *šu-lu-ši-tù damqu⁴*, Gadd 47.15; *hu-mu-ša-a-ú*, N 311.1; MU(!) *g^{MES}*, H I 66.26; in other words, their ages are frequently indicated by means of Akkadian terms, or ideographically. The same is true of cattle. Oxen or cows are noted as *ru-bu-ú*, No. 28, 8; *hu-mu-ša-a-ú*, H II 104.12; *ti-ša-a-ú*, *ibid.* 12; or else as MU 4, TCL IX 46.9, and *ša 5 MU^{MES}*, Gadd 2.17. In short, when we have eliminated the common adjectives descriptive of quality and the terms applied exclusively to sheep and goats, indications of age are found to occur with animals more frequently than any other designations. Inasmuch as the compounds with *-arpu* are never used together with the Akkadian or Sumerian terms for age, it is apparent that those compounds are local substitutes for the latter and that they must belong to the linguistic substratum at Nuzi.

At this stage we are confronted with what is a curious reversal of the conditions described in the introductory paragraph of the present inquiry. For now we have three terms which can safely be identified as numerals; but their respective numerical values remain to be determined. One of these unknown quantities is eliminated thanks to the equations *tumn-* "four," which was established above. Nor does the value of *šin(t)-* present a serious problem, for the meaning "two" has been assigned to *šin-* on the basis of the Mitanni letter of Tushratta.³ The same basic Hurrian document presents indeed also the word *tummi* (col. II 58), in which Bork has recently recognized a numeral. He would assign to it the value "three," by a highly speculative kind of reasoning.⁴ But although this identification is definitely disproved by the direct

³ Cf. already Messerschmidt, *Mitanni-Studien* (MVAG 1892.4) p. 66; see now Bork, *OLZ* 1932.90.

⁴ Bork, *ibid.* I had overlooked this note and I am grateful to Dr. I. J. Gelb for having called it to my attention.

evidence of our SMN passage, the veteran student of the "Mitani" language will have at least the satisfaction of estimating correctly the general character of the word. There is, then, left only the numeral *kik-*. Theoretically, this might represent any of the remaining digits, with the possible exception of "one," since one-year-olds are often represented by special terms. In practice, however, the range need scarcely be as broad. We have seen that *kikarpu* is applied to asses and cattle. Now the asses whose ages are indicated in the Nuzi texts are twice said to be aged three years (MU 8^{MES}; *šu-lu-ši-tù*), and once five years (*hu-mu-šu-ú*), as has been noted above.³ In all probability, therefore, *kik-* represents "three," but "five" or even a higher number cannot be excluded from consideration for the time being.

That *-arpu* stands for "year," "age," or the like goes without saying.⁴ In view of the *tumni* of the Mitanni letter, the numerals (above "two"?) may perhaps be assumed to have ended originally in *-i*. In *šintarpu* (as contrasted with *šinarpu*) there is an element *-t-* to which no obvious formative significance can be assigned for the present.

In conclusion, it will be of interest to consider briefly such other occurrences of the above numerals as are found independently of *arpu*. We find that *šin-* occurs in several combinations. One of these, viz. *ši-nam-ti*, is known as far back as the Amarna letters (cf. Knudtson 60.25); it belongs apparently together with *šinamu*, of which SMN 2480.21 offers a fresh example in *it-ti ši-na-mu-mi-šu-nu* "with their apprentices," or the like. The basic meaning is something like "substitute, representative." In a verbal phrase with the frequent Nuzian construction in *-umma epēšu* the word is found twice in H I 30 (lines 28-32): once with *kusitu* "cover," and the other time with *hubullu* "debt"; in the first instance the meaning is plainly "replace, duplicate," and in the other "double"; cf. already my note in FL 17 (n. 36). A slightly different nuance is expressed by (*ki-me-e di-na E.*) *ši-na-du-ma i-pu-šu*, No. 71.27, 33. In this text, which is among the most interesting in the present volume, E. appeals from a previous decision in court, with the unhappy result that he is sentenced to pay an additional fine of one ox to each of the judges who had decided the case against him originally, "because the suit E. *šinatumma* *ippušu*." The sense is clearly "repeated," or "brought up again."

Another compound with *šin(a)*, viz. *šinaḫilu*, will take us farther afield.

³ For *puḫḫeru* used of asses two years old, cf. 86.13.

⁴ There should be little doubt about the Hurrian origin of this word, in spite of the occurrence of Hurro-Akkadian compounds; any immediate connection between *arpu* and Semitic *ḫrp/f*, which may mean "year" as it does in South Arabic (cf. Albright, *AJSL* 51.127), is precluded by the character of the initial *ḫ*; the Nuzi cognate of *ḫrp* is *ḫurapu* "spring, young."

To begin with, the word occurs in No. 78. 2 where it is applied to "pullovers." But my interest in this term dates from the time when Julius Lewy called to my attention its occurrence in KBo III 3 II 7 (*šinaḫilā*) and in No. 75. 7 of his own Louvre volume of Cappadocian texts (*šinaḫilim*), inquiring about possible Nuzi analogues.⁷ Among the SMN texts transliterated by Pfeiffer I have noted the following passages:

SMN 872. 1-2: [1] *imēr GIG šī-na-ḫi-lu* [1] *imēr GIG damqu*²⁴
 ibid. 7-8: 1 *imēr GIG damqu* 1 *imēr GIG šī-na-ḫi-lu*

The same contrast of "good wheat" and "š. wheat" is maintained throughout this particular text. In other SMN texts which were available to me in Lacheman's transliterations, š. is applied to couches (SMN 859), sheep (SMN 890), garments or cloth (1 TUG *aš-du-uz-zi* 1 TUG *šī-na-ḫi-lu*, SMN 2671), and grain (*zi-ri-ú a-na ekallim²⁵ a-na šī-na-ḫi-la*, SMN 3200); and finally, ^{L0}*šī-na-ḫi-lu-uh-li* is found in SMN 2738. 10, 12.

In the Boghazköi passage cited above š. is glossed "second in command," hence Ungnad's proposed West Semitic etymology (with the Semitic numeral for "two"), ZAW 1923. 207. But the remaining passages in which the term is found call for a much more flexible interpretation. The underlying meaning must suit grain and garments, furniture and domestic animals, in addition to men. Now ^{L0}*šinaḫiluhli*, with the distinctive Hurrian occupational ending *-uhlu*, corresponds in all likelihood with the previously cited *šinamu* "substitute, representative"; its further connection with the Boghazköi *šinaḫilā* is obvious, for at most we have to allow for a difference in relative ranking, which is merely one of degree. Passing now to the other occurrences, the juxtaposition of *damqu* and *šinaḫilu* with reference to wheat points plainly to a distinction with regard to quality.⁸ The same is manifestly true of *aštuzzi* and *šinaḫilu* as applied to garments or clothes; here *aštuzzi* proves to be a Hurrian equivalent of *damqu*. "Second, secondary quality" will suit also couches and sheep. "Grain for the palace for š." (SMN 3200) is not entirely clear. The phrase might mean grain delivered for the š.-men, for a second sowing, or the cultivation of a secondary variety. But this uncertainty as to the precise significance of one passage does not invalidate in any way the conclusion based on a comparison of a number of considerably diversified occurrences. The basic value of š. is accordingly "of second(ary) rank or quality."

⁷ Lewy adds the following literature on *šinaḫilā*: Ungnad, ZAW 1923. 207; Hrozný, *Bogh. Stud.* III 144 note 4; Friedrich, AO 23.2 note 2, and ZA NF 2.282.

⁸ Cf. the juxtaposition of good and second-grade beer, Hrozný, *Getreidewesen im alten Babylonien* 55 and 146.

The first element is, of course, the same as in *šinamu* and *šinatu*, i. e., identical with the Hurrian numeral for "two."⁹

The numeral *tumn(i)* is found in *1 narkabtu du-um-na-du*, SMN 2209.2, which yields the neat picture "one chariot of four (wheels)." This additional notation is evidently intended to differentiate the wagon from the more common and typical two-wheeler.

The one numeral of which the exact value is as yet uncertain, viz. *kik-*, has not been discovered so far independently of *-arpu*. But the unexpected information contributed by the other two compounds should compensate us fully for this one omission.

⁹ As applied to humans, *šinahilu/a* corresponds with Akkadian *tertennu* (with which it is actually glossed in the Boghazköi passage) and Hittite *tān pēdas*, with which it may share indeed the value "two" of the first element of the compound; cf., E. Adelaide Hahn, *Language* 12.114, and Sturtevant, *Hittite Grammar* 128.

APPENDIX B

THE LINGUISTIC SUBSTRATUM AT NUZI

At the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society which was held at New Haven in April, 1936, I presented a paper on "Caucasic Influences in the Nuzi Verb."¹ The argument was, briefly, as follows: The Akkadian dialect of Nuzi is in many respects unorthodox. Most of its departures from normal Akkadian may be ascribed to lack of adequate knowledge of the language on the part of the Nuzi scribes. There are, however, certain groups of errors for which ignorance alone will not account satisfactorily. Their persistence suggests some more positive influence, and the logical source of that was manifestly the heterogeneous mother tongue of those Nuzi scribes who have been found guilty of the not unmethodical "mistakes" under discussion. These mistakes are noticeable especially in the verb. They can be accounted for on the assumption that the scribes had a passival concept of the verb impressed upon their linguistic consciousness, a concept from which they did not always succeed in freeing themselves when it came to expressing in Akkadian some more complicated type of verbal sentence. Now it is precisely this type of verbal concept that Friedrich has recently established for Urartean.² The linguistic substratum at Nuzi was Hurrian, a language whose relationship to Urartean is becoming constantly more apparent. It is true that in the present state of our knowledge of Hurrian we cannot speak as yet with confidence of the existence in this language of a passival verbal concept. But the correspondence in this particular respect between Urartean and Nuzi Akkadian, coupled with the linguistic ties that connect Urartean with Hurrian, lead us to predict the discovery of a similar verbal orientation in Hurrian proper. Lastly, since the type of verb in question is characteristic of certain Caucasian languages, we may ascribe the non-Akkadian constructions in the Nuzi documents broadly to Caucasian influence.

The foregoing argument was illustrated with a number of examples from the published material. It was my intention to add further instances from the texts included in the present volume and to present the complete discussion in the form of a separate article. But such a plan is no longer advisable on account of an essay which came out during the summer in the latest issue of the *Archiv für Orientforschung*. Its author is Dr. Leo Oppenheim and his

¹ Cf. the "Proceedings" of the Society, JAOS 56 No. 3.

² See his *Einführung ins Urartäische*, §§ 50 ff., 81.

subject is well defined by the title "Zur Landessprache von Arrapha-Nuzi."³ Oppenheim's approach is exactly the same as mine. He confines himself to the verb, concentrates on definite groups of errors, and draws conclusions with regard to the linguistic substratum that must be held responsible for such errors. What is more, both of us lean heavily on the same sets of examples, as will readily be recalled by those who heard my paper and have read Oppenheim's article. So far our paths have been identical, and the thorough-going agreement in method and results cannot but be mutually gratifying.⁴ At this stage, however, we are forced to part company. For in identifying the substratum in question Oppenheim arrives at the conclusion that the underlying language was not Hurrian, but one hitherto unknown, although its closest known affinities are with Elamite.⁵

Since we are in thorough agreement on so many points, and since Oppenheim's paper lists most of the examples that I had planned to use, there would be no advantage in going over the same ground again. We differ only as to the identity of the other language at Nuzi. But the difference is a vital one and its adjudication involves not only a nice point of linguistic reconstruction, but also—and this is of infinitely greater moment—the correct interpretation of powerful ethnic and artistic forces which helped to condition the course of events in the Near East in the second millennium B. C. I shall take for granted, therefore, the starting point of this inquiry and refer for a full list of examples to the several groups given in Oppenheim's article and to the additional instances in the present volume. What is most timely just now is a re-examination of the premises on which Oppenheim based his final results. And this can be accomplished with the aid of a small number of instances.

a. H I 73 is a will in which the testator defines the duties of his sons towards his widow: "they shall reverence her" (lines 12-13); the text reads, however, in reality: *i-pal-la-aḥ-ŠU-NU-TI* "she shall reverence them." Concerning another woman of the household the will specifies that the sons "shall not expel her" (28-30); but the text reads *la ú-še-iš-ši-ŠU-NU* "she shall not expel them."

b. H I 30 has *AT-ta-din* "I gave" for "he gave" and, conversely, *I-ša-as-si* "he shall claim" instead of "I shall claim." Gadd 61.4 has *TA-aq-ta-[b]i* "she (or perhaps better 'you') spoke" instead of "he spoke."

c. H I 28.13 applies *ú-ta-AR-ma* "he shall return" to three men.

³ AfO 11.56-65.

⁴ In a personal communication Oppenheim very kindly expressed his pleasure at thus finding many of his results independently confirmed.

⁵ Op. cit. 64.

d. N 131. 12-3 writes 5 UDUMES T. *a-na ya-ši id-di-NU* "five sheep T. to me they (!) gave."

The above examples represent the principal groups of errors recognized and listed by Oppenheim.⁶ Needless to add, these instances are not isolated, as a glance at Oppenheim's article will show. With the single exception of *taqtabi*, I used the same examples in my paper at New Haven and had available a number of others.

We now come to the crux of the matter. Granted that these curious departures from normal Akkadian are due to the influence of a linguistic substratum, what light is thrown thereby upon that substratum? Oppenheim proceeds on the assumption that each of the above verbal forms is a slavish reproduction of an underlying non-Akkadian expression, even to the extent of duplicating the exact order of the various formative elements. Thus he analyzes *ušēš-l-ŠUNU* as "sie (Obj. Sg.) + herausgehen-lassen + sie (Subj. Pl.)." This method is carried to its extreme in the tentative interpretation of *TAqtabi* as "*T* + *A* + *qtabi* 'zu mir + gesprochen.'" One of the leading deductions based on this analysis is that the substratum in question gave a prominent place in the verb to prefixed formatives. And upon this very deduction is founded the conclusion that the "Landessprache" was some language distinct from Hurrian.⁷

I am convinced that the reader will have little difficulty in detecting the fallacy in Oppenheim's argument. He has confused the syntactic peculiarities of one language with the morphological limitations of another, and the confusion has had serious consequences mainly because the two languages operate with radically different verbal concepts. Perhaps an illustration from another source will make this point clearer. Let us suppose that a Sumerian writer has to render into Akkadian the sentence-name *Utu-m(u')a-n-se* "The Sun-god to-me-he-gave." He knows that *Samaš-iddinam* is regarded as the equivalent of the Sumerian form, but, being a pedant, he wishes to reproduce the force of his native -(')a- "to me," not realizing that the Akkadian -am does

⁶ Oppenheim divides his examples into groups A-F. My own grouping as given above differs from his in that a = E, b = A, c = B, and d = D. Oppenheim's C may be regarded as essentially identical with his A. And finally, his group E should be eliminated entirely. The first two instances in it are obvious errors, the first of the scribe (*i-te-MU-uš* / *i-te-PU-uš*, so that the final -uš is part of the verb and not a pronominal suffix), and the other of the author (*ya-ši* goes with what follows and not with the preceding sentence; cf. note to No. 54 in this volume). The two remaining examples merely illustrate the pleonastic use of pronominal suffixes with more than one word. Incidentally the verbs in his first and third examples are used intransitively, for which usage see below.

⁷ Op. cit. 63, 65.

exactly that thing. He may append, therefore, a superfluous *ana yāši*, or he may even change the order of the words to **Šamaš-ana-yāši-iddinam*. But, on the other hand, although he may have heard about the Akkadian ventive, he will scarcely produce some such monstrosity as **Šamaš-am-iddin* merely because he cannot free himself from the tyranny of the Sumerian word-order. In short, one may expect a re-shuffling of words in a given foreign sentence under the influence of the speaker's own language. But no such influence is likely to affect the order of formatives within a single word, for such formatives have no independent existence, especially in a synthetic language like Akkadian.

The explanation of the phenomena recorded by Oppenheim does not call for heroic remedies. The real reason is much simpler. The substratum in question had a passival verb-concept, a fact that is recognized by Oppenheim himself, who fails, however, to draw from it the necessary conclusions. This goal-action concept is in marked contrast to the Akkadian actor-action type of verb. Now if a Nuzi scribe has failed to master his Akkadian, he will find himself in trouble as soon as he attempts to express any but the simplest syntactic relations. He will be under pressure to switch around his objects and subjects, and where such a procedure is impossible he will confuse them with one another. This is clearly exemplified in our first group of examples (a), where "THEY shall reverence HER" and "THEY shall not expel HER" becomes "SHE shall reverence, not expel THEM." What the scribes had in mind was "SHE shall BE reverencED, not expelled by THEM."³ In other words, the influence of their own goal-action type of verb causes the scribes who are writing in a strange and dissimilar medium to confuse subjects with objects. The matter is complicated for them by the fact that the subjects and objects differ in number. In the remaining instances the situation is simplified by the circumstance that the objects are not indicated by means of pronomial suffixes. Here a change of person or number is the sole concession to the effects of the linguistic substratum: "I /he gave" reflects "I was given"; "he/I shall claim" echoes "it shall be claimed"; "he/they shall return" is under the influence of "it shall be returned (to them)"; and finally, "five sheep T. to me they(!) gave" seems to be the result of "five sheep were given to me (by) T."

³ It is worthy of notice that the same suffix (*ati*) is used in Urartean for the third person plural, both with intransitive verbs (*nunali* "they came") and with transitive verbs when the object is in the plural (*šidištuati* "he built [more than one house]"); cf. Friedrich, op. cit. §§ 25, 82. Without necessarily implying an analogous situation in Hurrian, I shall only call attention to the fact that our erring Nuzi scribes assigned to the Akkadian *šānu(iti)* a similar dual function.

The one instance⁹ that fails to benefit by the same common explanation is *taqtabi* for "he spoke." It may be that change of gender (the declarer is a woman) has contributed to the confusion. On the other hand, we can hardly expect unvarying consistency from our scribes. They were guilty of many errors pure and simple, as is evidenced by scores of examples. Moreover, we are dealing here with problems of syntax and not with phonetic or morphological influences. Such changes as have been noted are not the outcome of normal linguistic trends, but rather the result of inability on the part of individual speakers (or writers) to master the intricacies of a foreign type of language. This is an added reason why we cannot look for the operation of inflexible linguistic laws where only the speaker's linguistic ability is the decisive factor.

To sum up, Oppenheim recognizes in the underlying language of Nuzi, as revealed by the slips of the native scribes, the existence of a goal-action¹⁰ verbal concept. But instead of applying this discovery to the solution of the problem at hand, he has allowed himself to be side-tracked by a methodologically unsound deduction as to the prefixal features of the substratum. His main theory is founded upon this one faulty premise: The Nuzians are all but universally linked with the Subaraeans.¹¹ But the Subaraean verb, as displayed to us in Bork's grammar of the Mitanni language, is exclusively suffixal.¹² Inevitably, therefore, the linguistic substratum at Nuzi was not Subaraean, but some other hitherto unknown language; the two may be branches of the same family, but not dialects of the same language. On the other hand, Elamite with its prefixing propensities proves to be a closer relative of the substratum under discussion.

It is easy to see how one fallacy has led to others. Now that we have demonstrated the unsoundness of Oppenheim's reasoning, it will not be begging the question to allude to the manifold ties that link the non-Akkadian language of Nuzi to the Hurrian group of dialects. I shall refrain from adducing arguments of a historical and archaeological nature¹³ for the entirely

⁹ I. e., among the examples cited above. As I have indicated, an effort has been made to analyse only each one of Oppenheim's groups, and not every individual example.

¹⁰ For this term, see L. Bloomfield's book on Language, p. 173.

¹¹ The author prefers this term to "Hurrian." Dr. Lacheman has transliterated a Nuzi text (SMN 2023), which contains a list of scribes similar to those published in Chiera's Sumerian Lexical Texts 106, 109. Lines 14-15 of Lacheman's text repeat the reading TUP.SAR.HUR.RUM, and Lacheman regards these passages as positive evidence that the Nuzians called their own language Hurrian and not Subaraean. For my longstanding sponsorship of the former term, cf. AASOR 13.13 ff.

¹² Op. cit. 63.

¹³ For these, see my Ethnic Movements, AASOR 13.13 ff.

adequate reason that the problem is purely linguistic. The evidence from proper names alone is today more compelling than ever before.¹⁴ The occurrence of compounds with *ak-* and *ar-*, and with *-šarri* and *-šenni* all the way from Anatolia and Syria to Transpotamia can hardly be said to favor any view that would separate these onomastic sources. I am purposely ignoring the compounds with *-tešup*, on the ground that this particular form of the storm-god is not restricted to Hurrians. Furthermore, the non-Semitic proper names from Nuzi betray local or eastern peculiarities in their fondness for *-tilla* and in their substitution of *Ištar* for *Hepit* or *Šauška*. For that matter, eastern leanings are attested most convincingly by the Nuzians' use of Akkadian as their literary medium of expression. But the Hurrian background is reaffirmed by the appearance of *Kumu/arwe* as a prominent figure in the local pantheon.¹⁵

The lexical ties with Hurrian, which are revealed by the onomastic material, become strengthened by the correspondence of independent lexical elements. In a recent study of the economic conditions at Nuzi a number of local terms were duplicated from the Amarna material.¹⁶ I might add here the word *henni* which has the value "now" both in SMN 2609.8 and in the Mitanni letter I 74-5.

When we add to these items instances of correspondence in grammatical details, the contention that our substratum was Hurrian becomes irrefutable. We have seen that the numerals for "two" and "four," the only ones that can be definitely identified in the Mitanni letter and at Nuzi, are identical in both sources.¹⁷ Then we have the plural ending *-ena* in such terms as *kuruštaena*,¹⁸ the case and pronominal suffixes *-aš*, *-we*, *-ni*, and *-hi*.¹⁹ Nor is the evidence of *irwin* "the Lady," an epithet applied to Ishtar, negligible in its implication. The word itself may be either Hurrian or Urartean; but the suffix *-n* contributes morphological proof of connection with Hurrian.²⁰

In passing, I wish to emphasize a point which I have made on several previous occasions.²¹ The wide distribution of Hurrian over the length and breadth of the Near East led of necessity to the development and crystallization of dialectal differences. These differences are particularly noticeable in the field of phonology. Forms like Nuzi *irwi* for Western *iwri*, *gurpizu* for

¹⁴ For the non-Semitic proper names from Nuzi, I may refer to the forthcoming study of Dr. P. M. Purves, which he prepared while a member of my Nuzi Seminar. The work will appear in the Oriental Institute Publications.

¹⁵ See the notes to Nos. 46-50.

¹⁶ See JAOS 55.439.

¹⁷ Cf. MPND.

¹⁸ Cf. note 15.

¹⁹ Cf. Appendix A.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ See already Mesopotamian Origins 145 f. note 90.

gursipu, and *Wantišenni* for *Pentešina*, are only a few indications of important phonetic divergences between East Hurrian and West Hurrian respectively. The subject is not ripe, however, as yet for detailed treatment.

In conclusion, we may note from among the texts presented in this volume several traces of presumably Hurrian influence on Nuzi Akkadian apart from the verb. Thus we have in 7.2 the expression *mār šipru* instead of the expected *mār šipri*; in 56.17 occurs the form *šibūta*, with the ending of the accusative singular applied to a plural noun. The curious form *ka-as-zu-um* "his share" (65.10) betrays the treatment of a noun (*qātu*) with the possessive suffix of the third person as a simple nominative to which the mimation can be added; the addition is of course a scribal display of false knowledge, but the implications are noteworthy, nevertheless. In line with the above tendencies is the use of a single pronominal *-ya* "mine" with three nouns (60.27). All these peculiar Nuziana seem to point in the same direction: the underlying Hurrian had a predilection for various types of compounds, which came to be regarded and were consequently treated as simple nouns (*mār-šipru*, *šibūtu*, *qāssu*, etc.). For the time being, however, such instances are merely trail-markers which may turn out to lead nowhere.

INDEX TO THE NOTES *

- anina* "where?" 70.16
aššabi "grandfather" 67.17
aššatātu, in the phrase *ana aššatāti ana yāši*
ē/itepuš, 54.13-14
uđāru "sojourner, Resident" 7.50; 83.4
ša/adātu "edict" 51.1
ilimtumma epēšu, 42.17
imēr, connection between measure of area
 and measure of capacity, 87.1-2
amumiššuri, "agrarian worker" 62.27
ammātu "cubit" 15.8; *a. ša erī*, 21.18;
 with *šuhāru*, 63.5
GIšampanna, 1.1
Annišu (or *Ilu-išū?*), 3.6
wašū, used of freeing slaves, 61.28
iše (GIŠH.A.MEŠ) "woods" 58.4
urišul "compensation" 95.12
GIšacušu (in date formula) 66.48
iškiški, 66.31
Lūšandū "bird-man" 26.21
išisi form of tax(?), 5.18
šatiq (acc. *dukannu*), 31.13; 57.18
benišāru, not -aš, 62.27
baqittu < *baqānu*, 3.9
burū "reed-matting" 7.40
goršu "fort" 58.5
dintu, significance of the concept, 1.5
DAM.QAR-ši—tamkerrātu, 79.5
ditennātu, 7.29; *kaspu* so termed, 61.8
Zilikkušu (*h*), variant forms of, 60.2
zillutu, used with *alpu*, 86.1
šabāšu, referring to judicial bias, 71.4
Habiru, name of one, 40.2
šupāru = *šattu* "staff" 3.60
našlaptu (GÚ.Š) "pullover" 77.2
šamuzu, used with *erā*, 81.3
šandnu, blended with *šašu/šahāšu* (?),
 7.20
šuzusu = *tašsiltu*, 89.18
šur(u) šuratu "rouge" 77.15
ĪAR.RA, *sūtu ša*, 26.6
Īu-RI-ši, name of month, 79.10
(šit) šurizati—(šit) kuruš, 4.13
šātu "bribe, fine," 25.4
Kaliya, hypocoristic for *Akawatil* (?)
 38.27
šašacušennu, used of silver, 55.33
k/gugallu "irrigation officer," 41.6
kālu (?), in *ša iggallu*, used in ordeals,
 75.10
kumānu, a measure, 65.8
kinaššu "Canaanite," used of wool, 77.14
kispatu "funeral feast" (name of month),
 66.31
kaška, 64.6
kušpaššu "harness" 1.28
katinnu, object or quantity of bronze, 87.1
š'ātu "favorable decision in lawsuit" 71.15
laqāšu "glean" 76.6
māru "shepherd" (fr. *re'u*), 6.7
muddu "quota" 92.4
mašāšu "to oil" 1.34; *māšiš pāti*, applied
 to buildings, 60.29
metru, a vegetable (?), 77.11
ma-lu-ti, used with *šuhāru*, 63.5
mala, 3.24
manā, *t*-form "to be examined" 56.17
martadu, 3.1
mašāru, used with *qanna*, 32.8; = *galābu*
 "cut, shave, ransack" 1.42
Nabū-ila, wr. dAK.Ki-la, 59.39
nubi "ten thousand" 90.1
nigalla "sickle" 80.2
našālu "complain about, slander" 75.3
na-ĪI-iš—šādū, šāšīš, 23.7
NAM.LÚ.LÚ.MEŠ—nišātu "domestics"
 34.9
(šit) nupari "tower, prison(?)" 3.40
N/Mušapu, 66.10
(ištu) šūqī "publicly" 42.17
sešā "claim(?)" 73.6
paišu "uncultivated (ground)" 58.22
puridu, a measure of length, 15.8
pirankumma epēšu "flee" 52.18

* The entries are in the order observed in Akkadian dictionaries.

- paššuritu* "table" 85.3
šiditu "ransom" 8.7
puḫḫeru, used of asses two years old, 86.13
re'u, see *māru*.
rubu'u "four-year-old" 21.8
ramannima, in *aššutu*-declarations, 55.17
-ši, Hurrian formative in abstract nouns, 79.5
še'u ša bu-ri, 3.11
šuanatḫu, an official, 7.9
šepu "foot," a measure of length, 15.8;
GIŠšēpitu "leg" 85.2
maškanu "deposit" 91.5
šakku, 1.1
šamaššammu "sesame" 89.1
šinaḫilu "of secondary rank, or quality" 78.2; cf. Appendix A
šinatuma epēšu "repeat" 71.27
šurampašḫi, a type of payment, 54.16
GIŠširnu "rein-ring (?) 9.9
šeršerētu "chains, bondage" 29.7
šurumma "forthwith" 58.38
šurathu, a kind of dye, 77.14
šaišugu, 1.1
šešimtena, a kind of metal, 82.1
šattaqda "last year" 4.2
šutāpātu "partnership" 87.7
tāru "turn back, shrink from" 33.36
tabarru "purple" 77.14
tallu, a measure of oil, 74.4
tumnapu "four-year-old" 67.19, cf. Appendix A
TAR/ḪIS (?) 14.16
upputu "baker" 31.4
taluhlu "domestic" 10.8
teḫampašḫi, a type of payment, 35.4
LÚru-ba-du "cloud-man (?) 28.11

LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES

[The index of personal names occurring in the present volume was prepared by Dr. P. M. Purves; his compilation has been reproduced with a minimum of editorial interference. The names are given first in a normalized form, indicated in italics. This is followed by a syllabic transliteration which has utilized Thureau-Dangin's system only in the case of definitely Semitic elements. All other elements are given in direct transliteration, even to the extent of writing *tum* where *tu*, is obviously intended. The only innovation is the use of *wa* for the sign PI wherever outside evidence fails to eliminate the ambiguity of the vowel in question. In the normalized headings the quality of vowels in non-Semitic elements had to be ignored; the same applies to possible indications of the glottal catch. Stops have been given in their voiceless forms, save, of course, for Akkadian names; but this procedure does not presuppose a decision with regard to the underlying sounds. The order is that of the Latin alphabet, except that voiced and emphatic stops had to be listed together with the voiceless ones. For similar reasons, names beginning with *e*, *i*, and *y* have been grouped together under *i*. Likewise *s* and *š* have been grouped together under *s*, while *š* has been listed before *t*. E. A. S.]

In the list of personal names the following abbreviations have been used: *d.* for 'daughter of'; *f.* for 'father of'; *gf.* for 'grandfather of'; *gs.* for 'grandson of'; *m.* for 'mother of'; *s.* for 'son of'; *h.* for 'husband of'; *w.* for 'wife of'; *sis.* for 'sister of'; *id.* for 'same person'; *ibid.* for 'same document.'

Readings and restorations which have no confirmation in the document published in this volume are based on unpublished Nuzi material at the Semitic Museum of Harvard University and at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

In compiling this list I received much generous help and encouragement from Dr. E. A. Speiser to whom I wish to convey my sincere thanks. I am also indebted to Dr. Robert Pfeiffer who gave me permission to examine the original documents. I should like to express my gratitude also to Dr. E. R. Lacheman for the very helpful suggestions he gave for the reading of many names and to Dr. I. J. Gelb for his kind aid in reading the proofs.

P. M. P.

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|--|---|
| <p><i>a</i>-[...], 22.1
 <i>a</i>-[...] <i>f.</i> <i>še-en-ni</i>, 65.30
 <i>a</i>-[...]-<i>ya s.</i> <i>na-an-te</i>-[...], 91.1, 13
 <i>a-ḥu</i>-[...] <i>s.</i> [<i>a</i>]-<i>k[i]</i><i>p-du-ra</i>, 97.16</p> <p><i>Aḥuya</i>
 <i>a-ḥu-ya</i>, 21.5
 <i>s.</i> <i>tup-ki-ya</i>, 20.18</p> <p><i>Aḥ-um-mi-ša</i>
 <i>ŠEŠ-mi-ša</i>, 8.67
 <i>a-ḥu-u[m]</i>-<i>mi-ša</i>, 97.12
 <i>a-ḥu-u[m-m]</i>-<i>i-ša</i> [<i>a</i>] <i>s.</i> <i>bi-il-la-r[a]</i>, 21.28, 44
 <i>a-ḥu-um-mi-ša f.</i> <i>a-kap-ta-e</i>, 63.25</p> <p><i>Aittara</i>
 <i>a-i-it-ta-ra</i>, 31.28; 45.19
 <i>a-i-it-ta-a-ra s.</i> <i>šu-uh-ni(?) zi(?) ru(?)</i>,
 37.36</p> | <p><i>a-it-ta-ra f.</i> <i>ya-an-zi-ma-aš-ḥu</i>, 24.9; 30.
 31; 32.27; 34.33</p> <p><i>Akaya</i>
 <i>a-qa-a-a s.</i> <i>ar-bi-ḥé</i>, 29.27; 34.40; 37.33
 <i>f.</i> <i>ki-be-cr-[ḥ]u(?)</i>, 21.30</p> <p><i>Akam-muṣni</i>
 <i>a-ka-am-mu-uš-ni</i>, 54.4, 8</p> <p><i>Akap-še</i>
 <i>a-kap-še f.</i> <i>a-ri-qa-ma-ri</i>, 24.11; 26.18
 <i>f.</i> <i>še-en-na-a-a</i>, 21.24; 32.28</p> <p><i>Akap-šen(n)i</i>
 <i>a-kap-še-en-ni</i>, 7.1, 22; 22.28; 24.28
 <i>aw@ma-ru-zu</i>, 37.31
 <i>a-kap-še-ni</i>, 33.43; 45.16</p> |
|--|---|

- a-kap-še-en-ni s. ḥa-ni-ku-ya, 21.23; 25.34
 s. id., b. ta-a-a-ú-ki, 24.23;
 32.18
 a-kap-še-ni s. id., 23.21; 27.26; 29.31; 27.
 39; 42.38
 a-kap-še-en-ni s. ḥa-ši-[...], 25.18
 s. šī-il-wa-a-a 18.17; 24.20;
 27.17
 dayānu, s. id., 41.29
 a-kap-še-ni s. šī-il-wa-a, 23.22; 26.23
 a-kap-še-en-ni s. šī-mi-qa-ri, b. in-ni-ku,
 59.1, 10, 15
 f. qa-ri, 43.10
 f. qar-t[i]-ya, 32.29
 a-kap-še-ni f. qar-ti-be-er-wA, 57.12
 a-kap-še-en-ni f. ni-nu-a-ri, 28.17
- Akap-tae*
 a-kap-ta-e, 13.1
 s. a-ḥu-um-mi-šá, 63.25
- Akap-tuggi*
 a-kap-dug-gi s. qa-an(?)-gi(?), 93.24
- Aggata*
 ag-ga-ta s. zi-li-ik-ku-šu, b. šúk-ri-te-šup,
 h. šše-ḥa-li-tum, 55.9
- Akawdtil*
 a-qa-wA-til s. tar-mi-ya, 72.2, 6, 8, 24
 f. ḥa-aš-te-ya, 26.20
 f. [ta]-e, gf. BE-la-a-a, 38.6
 f. ut-ḥáp-še, 24.18; 29.32
- Akawi(ya)*
 a-ga-wi f. ki-ip-gi-bar, 25.35
 a-qa-wi-ya f. kip-gi-mar, 23.30; 44.19
- Akiya*
 a-ki-ya, scribe, 70.34
 s. ḥu-ut-te-šup, b. ḥku-ni-a-šu, 54.
 11
 s. tu-ra-ri, 61.37
 f. še-ḥal-te, 62.32
 f. ul-mi-til-la, 61.39
- Akin-namari*
 a-ki-in-na-ma-ri s. [...] -ri-ya, 21.2], 34
- Akip-[.....]*
 a-kip-[.....] f. ar-ḥa-ma-an-[na], 75.
 33
- Akip-apu*
 a-ki-pa-pu s. ḥa-ši-pa-pu, 84.2
- Akip-šarri*
 a-kip-šarri s. ḥa-bi-ra, b. qa-a-na, 62.30
 s. e-gi[gi], 59.19
 f. a-ri-ig-gi-ir-ḥé, 57.14
 f. aš-tar-te-ia, 63.19
 f. tu-ra-ri, 26.14
- Akip-še(n)ni*
 a-kip-še-ni s. a-ri-gur-mi, 45.13
 [a]-kip-še-en-ni, šibu, s. [ni]-ih-ri-ya, 96.
 21
- Akip-taše(n)ni*
 a-kip-ta-še-ni, dayānu, 71.16, 28
 a-kip-ta-še-en-ni f. [š]ur-ki-til-la, 83.11
 a-kip-ta-še-ni f. id., 73.37
 f. tar-mi-te-šup, 79.24
- Akip-tešup*
 a-kip-t[e-šup] f. ni-ir-ḥi-til-la, 27.25
- Akip-tila*
 a-kip-til-la s. šar-ri-ya, f. ki-in-<ni>-ya,
 62.2, 5, 9, 12, 19
 s. ša-ri-iš-še, 22.23
 f. ur-ḥi-ya, gf. el-ḥi-ip-ta-še-
 en-ni, 61.2
- Akip-tura*
 a-kip-du-ra s. e-ni-iš-ta-e, 22.22, 32
 f. a-ḥu-[...], 97.16
- Aki-tirwad*
 a-ki-ti-ir-wA s. pu-ḥi-še-ni, 26.19
- Akkul-e(n)ni*
 ak-ku-le-en-ni, 74.23; 82.5
 ak-ku-le-ni, 82.7
 ak-ku-le-en-ni, s. 'a'-zi-ya, 68.11
 s. [ḥ]a-iš-te-šup, 54.48
 s. eḥ-li-ya, 68.12
 s. ip-šá-ḥa-lu, 18.23
 s. iš-ma-da-da(d), 57.28
 s. it-ḥa-pu, 42.42
 f. ta-ku-ya, 64.25
 ak-ku-le-ni f. te-ḥi-ip-zi-lu-uk, 73.36
- Aku-šeni*
 a-ku-še-ni, dayānu, 71.38
 a-gu-še-ni s. ḥa-ip-šarri, 26.17
- Akku-teya*
 ak-ku-te-ya s. te-eš-šu-ya, 21.26

- Alippiya*
a-li-ib-bi-ya s. ki-iz-zi-ḥar-pa, 93.20
- Al-tešup*
al-te-šup f. dšin-dl(?) -na(?), 93.23
- Ammakka*
am-ma-aq-qa s. eḥ-li-ya, 28.22
- Amar-ša-ilī*
a-mar-ša-DINGIR, Habiru, 40.2, 4, 8, 11
- Amšar-elli*
am-ša-re-el-li d. ḥa-lu-ya, w. šák-ri-te-šup s. zi-li-ik-ku-šu, 55.9, 16, 20, 22, 26, 27, 30, 34, 38
- Amurriya*
amurri(MAR.TU)-ya, scribe, s. dšamaš-iddina, 43.25
- AN-[.....]*
AN-[.....] f. tar-mi-ya, 59.31
- Annišu (Ilu-išu?)*
[an]-ni-šu, scribe, 73.36
an-išu(TUK)šu s. ḥa-ma-an-na, 93.19
- Apeya*
a-be-ya f. gi-lip-šarri, 66.38
f. ki-bi-ya, 3.43
a-be-e-a f. šur-ki-til-la, 67.37
- Apenari*
a-be-na-ri, 67.8
- Apil-amurri*
apil-damurri (IBILA-dMAR.TU) f. ar-ša-wA, 95.1
apil(IBILA)-a-mur-ri f. id., 96.1
ap[il] (DUMU . [NITA]) -amurri(MAR . TU) f. ša-ku-ya, 95.19
- Abi-ilu*
a-bi-DINGIR, scribe, s. dnabu-ilu, 65.37
- Apuḫka*
a-pu-uk-ka, 71.3, 10, 12, 14, 20, 22, 25
- Apuški*
a-pu-uš-ki f. ta-i-qa, 73.25
- Ar-[.....]*
ar-[.....] f. ku-uz-zu, 95.18
- Araya*
a-ra-a-a f. ta-a-a, 10.6
- Arraki*
ar-ra-ki, 22.37
- Arrapḫa-(a)ri*
ar-ra-ap-ḫa-ri, tamkarru, 78.4, 14
- Ar-ḫamenna*
ar-ḫa-ma-an-na, 4.22
s. a-kip-[.....], 75.33
- Ariya*
a-ri-ya f. ḫi-ša-a-a, 32.1
[a-r]i(?) -ya f. zi-li-ik-ku-šu, 60.2
a-ri-ya f. id., gf. ag-ga-ta, gf. šák-ri-te-šup, 55.1
- Ariḫ-ḫaya*
a-ri-iḫ-ḫa-a-a s. šu-ru-uq-qa-a-a, 55.52
- Arik-kaya*
a-ri-iq-qa-a-a s. [.....], 65.34
- Ari(k)-kamari*
a-ri-qa-ma-ri s. a-kap-še, 24.11; 26.18
a-ri-iq-qa-ma-ri s. a[r-n]u-zu, 65.36
a-ri-qa-ma-ri s. na-i-gi-mar, 24.19
- Arik-kanari*
a-ri-iq-qa-na-ri, dayānu, 69.22
- Arik-kiya*
a-ri-ik-ki-ya s. na-a-a, 44.18
- Arik-kiḫe*
a-ri-ig-gi-ir-ḫé s. a-kip-šarri, 57.13
s. ku-uš-ši-ya, 64.1, 6
- Ari-kurmi*
a-ri-gur-mi f. a-kip-še-ni, 45.13
- Ari-lu (cf. below)*
a-ri-lu s. <?>, 25.1, 6, 12, 13, 19, 21
s. ū-na-ap-te(?) -šup(?), 54.29
- Ari-lumti*
a-ri-il-lu-um-ti f. mu-uš-te-ya, gf. ar-bi-ḫé, 37.1
- Ari(m)-matka*
a-ri-im-ma-at-qa, 6.1, 19, 32, 40, 45; 7.8, 18
s. zi-li-ya, 22.25; 28.28
a-ri-ma-at-qa f. ḫa-ši-pa-(a)-pu, 23.26; 25.38
f. na-i-gi-mar, 23.31; 26.24; 29.19; 35.26; 42.41

Arip-apu

a-ri-ba-pu, dayānu, 43.22

a-ri-pa-pu f. i-ri-ri-til-la, 67.40

Arip-enni

a-ri-ip-e-en-ni, 35.5, 10

a-ri-be-en-ni, slave, 45.4

slave, s. ḫa-šu-un-na-a-a, b.

ḫa-pa-a-a, b. fa-su-li, b.

ḫi-in-zu-ri, 34.8

Arip-era

a-ri-be-ra 30.46

s. kap(?)-[.....], 34.37

Arip-šarri

a-ri-ip-šarri, scribe, 58.55

s. e-en-na-ma-ti, b. ar-ša-an-

ta, b. še-en-na-ag-ga, 16.2

Arip-ugur

a-ri-pu-gur s. ṭ-na-a-a, 60.40

Arip-urāše

a-ri-pu-ra-aš-še f. ar-bi-ḫé, 30.30

a-ri-ip-ṭ-ra-aš-š[e] f. šūk-ri-ya, 24.21

f. wa-an-ti-iš-še, 32.22

Arip-urikki

a-ri-pu-ri-ig-gi f. šu-ru-uq-qa, 97.5

*Ar-namar*ar-na-mar f. šūk-ra-pu, gf., ḫal-pa-pu-ša,
42.4*Arniya*

ar-ni-ya, dayānu, 69.20

Ar-nuzu

a[r-n]u-zu f. a-ri-iq-qa-ma-ri, 65.36

Ar-piḫe/i

ar-bi-ḫi, 25.31; 45.20

ar-bi-ḫé s. a-ri-pu-ra-aš-še, 30.30

s. mu-uš-te-ya, gs. a-ri-il-lu-um-ti,
37.2, 15

s. tap(DÜG.GA)-ar-ra-ap-ḫi, 44.9

f. a-qa-a-a, 29.27; 34.40; 37.33

f. šur-pa-a-a, 37.37

Ar-šali

ar-ša-lim, dayānu, 69.19

Ar-šanta

ar-ša-an-ta s. e-en-na-ma-ti, b. a-ri-ip-šarri,

b. še-en-na-ag-ga, 16.2

ar-šá-an-ta f. še-ḫa-la, 44.22

Ar-šarri

ar-šarri f. wa-an-ti-ya 20.16

Ar-šatuya

ar-š[a-du-ya] f. ḫa-am-bi-zi, 59.18

Ar-šawa

ar-ša-wA 10.19

s. apil-damurri//a-mur-ri, 95.1,

9, 16; 96.1, 12

Ar-šeḫala

ar-še-ḫa-la f. ḫa-ma-an-na, 18.18

Ar-šenni

ar-še-en-[ni] f. ki-ba-a-a, 59.24

Ar-šimika

ar-ši-mi-qa s. nu-pa-na-ni, 58.52

f. a-ṭ-du-[.....], 58.49

Ar-tae

a-ar-ta-e f. ḫa-ši-ya, 41.23

Ar-tamuzi

ar-ta-mu-zi f. ta-a-a, gf. ar-ti-ir-wA, 28.3

Ar-tarwad (probably a writing for *ar-tirwad*;
does TAR have the value 'tir'?)

ar-tar-wA, 74.29

Ar-tašše

[a]r-taš-še f. [na-ni-i]p-ša[ri], 55.49

Ar-tašenni

ar-ta-še-en-ni, 3.45

s. eḫ-li-ya, 63.24

Ar-teya

ar-te-a-a, 65.10

s. a-wi-iš-ki-pa, 31.7, 10, 15

s. e-ni-ya, 18.22

s. pu-i-ta-e, 39.25

ar-te-ya s. šu-ur-pa-a-a, 57.17

f. ḫa-ši-ip-til-la, 24.17; 42.39

f. in-zi-te-šup, h. ki-sa-a-a, 32.2,
5

ar-te-a-a f. ku-la-ḫu-bi, 61.6

ar-te-ya f. na-i-te-šup, 27.22; 29.26; 32.20

f. šūk-ra-a-pu, 25.40

ar-te-a-a f. ta-a-a, 68.3

ar-te-ya f. tar-mi-te-šup, 23.19; 29.15

f. ur-ḫi-ya, 42.51

*Ar-temtue*ar-te-em-tu-e s. ma-li-ya, b. ut-ḫap-ta-e,
30.38

- ar-te-em-du-e s. id., 32.25
[a]r-[t]e-em-tu-e s. id., 34.47
- Ar-tešše*
ar-te-eš-še s. ḥa-na-a-a, 63.3, 8, 11, 13, 16
- Ar-tešup*
ar-te-šup, dayānu, 69.21
- Ar-tiḫi*
ar-di(?)-ḫi(?) f. ša-ri-iš-se, 58.54
- Ar-tilla*
ar-til-la s. tup-ki-ya, 28.21
- Ar-tirwa*
ar-ti-ir-wa s. ta-a-a, gs. ar-ta-mu-zi, 28.4
- Ar-tura*
ar-tu-ra f. ut-ḥap-ta-e, 58.3
- Ar-rumma*, cf. *Ar-rumpa*
- Arum-ari*
a-ru-ma-ri f. ki-iz-zu, 20.20
- Ar-rumpa*
ar-ru-um-ba, slave, b. tza-am-mi-in-ni, 39.
11, 16.21
ar-ru-um-ma, ibid. 5
- Ar-rumti*
ar-ru-um-ti, 84.5, 7
- Aruna*
a-ru-u-na, 66.3, 4
- Ar-sizza*
ar-zi-iz-za, 7.30; 10.2, 5, 11, 12, 21, 25;
45.7
s. ma-i-[.....], 65.29
s. ta-i-[.....], 35.19
f. še-eš-wa-a-a, 45.3
f. tup-ki-iz-za, 23.20
b. a-wi-iš-na-a-a, 45.2
- !Ašta[.....]*
aš-t[a.....] d. q1-iš-t[e(?).....],
57.1
- Aštar-teya*
aš-tar-te-ya s. a-kip-šarri, 63.19
- Aštar-tešup*
aš-tar-te-šup, 48.15
- Aššucana (?)*
aš-šu-wa(?) - a(?) - na(?), 74.30
- A(t) taya*
a-ta-a-a, šibu s. <?>, 64.20
at-[ta-a]-a s. a-zi-ya, 97.13, 19
a-da-a-a f. nu-ša-a-a, 20.15
a-ta-a-a f. šur-kip-šarri, 39.27
[t]e-ḫi-ya, 18.15
- Ada(d)-mušalli*
dIM-mu-šal-li f. šil-duri, 30.26; 34.44
- Ada(d)-raba*
dIM-GAL f. ki-im-pa-ru, 67.36
- Admatil*
ad-ma-til s. šu-ul-be-ni-ni, 67.34, 43
- Atnaḫ-ilu*
at-na-ḫi-ilu (DINGIR) f. e-ta/eš-še-en-ni,
66.34
- Autu-[.....]*
a-ū-du-[.....] s. ar-ši-mi-qa, 58.49
- Awiš-ki-pa*
a-wi-iš-ki-pa f. ar-te-ya, 31.7, 10
- !Awiš-naya*
a-wi-iš-na-a-a w. ar-zi-iz-za, 45.2
- Aziya*
a-zi-ya f. ak-ku-le-en-ni, 68.11
f. at-[ta-a]-a, 97.13
- !Asuli*
a-su-li d. ḫa-šu-un-na-a-a, sis. a-ri-be-en-
ni, sis. ḫi-in-zu-ri, sis. fpa-pa-a-a, 34.8
- E, cf. I-*
- Ḫaip-šarri*
ḫa-ip-šarri f. a-gu-še-ni, 26.17
f. pu-ḫi-še-en-ni, 54.27
- Ḫaiš-tešup*
ḫa-iš-te-šup, 2.13; 3.66; 5.38; 6.70; 7.58;
8.71
s. pu-ḫi-še-en-ni, 39.26
f. ak-ku-le-en-[ni], 54.48
- Ḫalippa*
ḫa-li-ip-pa f. [pa]l-te-šup, 75.35
- !Ḫalpa-puša*
ḫal-pu-pu-ša, 43.4, 7, 18
ḫal-ba-pu-ša, 44.2, 5.
ḫal-pa-pu-ša d. ḫi-ya-re-el-li, d. šuk-ra-pu
s. ar-na-mar, 42.3, 8, 14, 19, 20, 23, 30

Hal-šenni

ha-al-še-e[n-ni] f. hu-bi-[ta], 93.2

Haluya

ha-lu-ya m. tam-ša-r[e-e]l-li, m. iqa-an-zu-uš-šal-li, m. iše-ha-li-tum, w. zi-li-ik-ku-šu s. a-ri-ya, sis. šák-ri-te-šup s. dur-še-en-ni, 55.2, 5, 9, 16, 22, 27, 30, 34, 38

Halut-ta

ha-lu-ut-ta f. du-ra-ri, 63.23

Hamanna

ha-ma-an-na, awšnaggaru, 3.26; awššangū, 42.36
s. ar-še-ha-la, 18.18
s. šu-um-mi-[.....], 59.23
f. [.....], 56.24
f. AN.TUK-šu (annišu), 93.19
f. pu-ḫi-še-(en)-ni, 24.10; 26.22; 30.36; 32.19; 35.24; 57.20

Hampisi

ha-am-bi-zi s. ar-š[a-du-ya], 59.18
f. ū-na-a-a, 72.1, 5, 17, 21, 27

Hanaya

ha-na-a-a s. e-ni-š-ta-e, 27.21; 30.25; 33.28; 34.50
s. ta-e, 61.42.
s. ta-a-a, 66.35
s. te-en-te-ya, 34.1, 19, 21, 26
f. ar-te-eš-še, 63.3
f. ḫur-bi-še-ni, 45.12
f. ina-na-a-a-um-mi, 53.5

Hanakka

ha-na-ak-ka, 8.57
ha-na-aq-qa-a f. še-qa-ar-zi-iz-za-a, 92.10

Hanate

ha-na-te, slave-woman of Tulpu-naya, 42.2, 7, 8, 15, 17, 20, 26, 30, 32; 43.1, 8, 14, 16, 19
ha-na-te-e, 44.2, 4, 31

Hanatu

ha-na-tum, s. ha-bil-damqu(SIG₄), b. iši-ta-an-qa, 23.3, 17
s. ha-bil-ta-an-ga, 24.2, 8
f. ša-ar-te-e-a, 65.2

ha-na-du, manzatuḫlu, s. ku-ut-ta-an-ni, 43.11

Hani[...]

ha-ni-[....] f. wa-an-na-a-a, 27.29

Hani-katu

ha-ni-qa-tum f. ma-at-te-šup, 29.17; 30.29; 35.15; 41.26

Haniku, see below*Hani-kuya (Hanu-kaya)*

ha-ni-ku-ya f. a-kap-še-(en)-ni, 21.23; 23.21; 24.23; 25.34; 27.26; 29.31; 32.18; 37.39; 42.36
f. eḫ-ḫi-ya, 29.20
f. ta-(a-a)-ū/ū-ki, 23.24; 24.23; 25.41; 29.20; 30.21; 31.17; 32.18; 33.24
ha-ni-ku-ya(?) f. id., 37.29
ha-ni-ku-ya f. tar-mi-ya, 24.13
f. ū-(ut)-ti/te-ya, 20.21; 25.28
f. wu-ur-te-ya, 27.18; 29.18; 30.28

ha-ni-ku-ya(?) f. id., 34.43

ha-nu-qa-a-a f. id., 33.25

Hani(y)u

ha-ni-ū s. [z]i-li-āp-til-la, 3.15

Hanizu

ha-ni-zu, slave of fuz-na, f. iha-ši-il-lu, 52.1, 9, 12, 19, 23, 23

Hanu-kaya: cf. *Hani-kuya**Habil-damqu*

ha-bil-damqu(SIG₄)āš, awšNU.GIŠ.ŠAR, 42.43
ha-bil-damqu(SIG₄) f. ha-na-tum, 23.2, 3
ha-bil-ta-an-ga f. id., 24.1, 6.
ha-bi-il-ta-an-gu, ibid. 26
ha-bil-damqu(SIG₄) f. iši-ta-an-qa, 23.2, 3

Hadira

ha-bi-ra f. a-kip-šarri, f. qa-a-na, 62.31

Hadurši

ha-bur-ši s. pu-ḫi-še-en-ni, 18.6

Hap-silakku

ha-ap-zi-la-ak-ku s. [.....], 34.36

Hašī-[.....]

ha-šī-[.....] f. a-kap-še-en-ni, 35.
18

Hašiya

ha-šī-ya, 8.38
dayānu, s. a-ar-ta-e, 41.22
šibu, s. pu-ḫi-še-en-ni, 64.21
f. ḫu-ur-bi-še-en-ni, 18.4
f. ḫu-di-ya, 30.33; 34.41
f. pa-ip-pu, 24.15

Hašī(g)-gimar

ha-šī-gi-mar f. [...], 34.46
ha-šī-ig-gi-mar f. a-nš-še, 42.40

Hašīl-lu

ha-šī-il-lu d. ḫa-ni-zu, 62.3, 8, 10, 15, 17,
19, 24

Hašī(m)-matka

ha-šī-im-ma-at-qa m. ḫi-sa-a-a, 30.2
ha-šī-ma-at-qa, ibid. 3

Hašin-namar

ha-šī-in-na-mar f. mu-šu-ya, 66.37

Hašip-[.....]

ha-šī-ip-[.....] f. [...], 22.17

Hašip-apu

ha-šī-ba-pu, 1.27, 34, 40, 44, 45
ha-šī-pa-pu, 3.40, 54, 63
ha-šī-ip-a-pu, ḫazannu, 7.12, 15, 49
ha-šī-pa-pu s. a-ri-ma-at-qa, 23.26
ha-šī-pa-a-pu s. id., 25.39
ha-šī-pa-pu f. a-ki-pa-pu, 84.3.

Hašip-tilla

ha-šī-ip-til-la s. ar-te-ya, 24.17; 42.39
s. ḫu-ya, 52.32; šibu, 60.34
s. ḫu-ti-ya, 84.10
scribe, s. en-na-pa-li, 64.29
s. ki-pu-gur, 79.1, 20
s. šuk-ri-ya, 57.11
f. ḫu-ti-šī-mi-qa, 60.38

Hašip-ugur

ha-šī-pu-gur f. na-al-ḫu-uq-qa, 28.23

Haš-teya

ha-aš-te-ya s. a-qa-wA-til, 26.20

Hašw-[.....]

ha-šw-[.....]-a, 68.9

Hašuar

ha-šū-ar, 33.33
s. še-qa-rum, 93.17
s. [šī-m]i-qa-ri, 91.4, 9
h. ftum-ul-pu-un-na-a-a, 15.5;
16.8

Hašum/n-naya

ha-šū-un-na-a-a m. a-ri-be-en-ni, m. fa-su-
li, m. ḫi-in-zu-ri, m. ḫpa-pa-a-a, 34.3,
10, 15
ha-šum-na-a-a, ibid. 24

Hašarte

ha-tar-te, 8.63

Haštip-apu

ḫé-el-ti-ba-pu, 51.31

Haštip-tešup

ḫé-el-ti-ip-te-šup, 81.4; 100.3

Haštip-tilla

ḫé-el-ti-ip-til-la, 88.2, 3, 7, 13

Hašreya

ḫé-er-re-e-a s. te-ḫi-pa-pu, 66.36
ḫé-er-re-ya, ibid. 44

Hašmeya (for Hašiya?)

ḫé-er-me-ya, 33.41

Hašgar-elli

ḫi-ya-re-el-li 43.2, 6, 15
m. ḫal-pa-pu-ša, w. šuk-ra-
pu s. ar-na-mar, 42.5, 16,
25

Hašbi(š)šuh

ḫi-il-bi-šū-uḫ s. šu-ḫu-zi-ir-ra, 42.35
ḫi-il-bi-šū-uḫ f. ma-at-te-šup, 21.25; 32.
23

Hašauri

ḫi-in-zu-ri, slave-woman, d. ha-šū-un-na-
a-a, sis. a-ri-be-en-ni, sis. ḫpa-pa-a-a, sis.
fa-su-li, 34.7 w. zi-li-ya, 8.27, 37

Hašmani

ḫi-iš-ma-ni, 65.10

Hašw-[.....]

ḫu-[.....] f. šum-mi-iš-še-ni, 45.11

Buya

bu-ya, dayānu, 8.36; 56.40; 59.5, 6, 9, 17
 f. ha-ši-ip-til-la, 52.32; 60.
 34
 f. ku-la-hu-bi, f. šak-ri-ya,
 f. tar-mi-ya, 56.1, 4, 8

Huip-apu

hu-i-ba-pu s. šu-ra-aq-qa, 21.1, 9
 hu-i-ba-a-pu, ibid. 6, 11, 13

Hui-te

hu-i-te, 6.1

Hui-tešup

hu-i-te-šup s. ta-a-a-ú-ki, 25.42

Humer-elli

hu-me-re-el-li, 4.3, 12

Hummuru

hu-um-mu-ru f. na-an-te-e-a, 67.35

Hu-bi-ta

hu-bi-ta, 99.23
 s. ha-al-še-e[n-ni], 93.1, 9, 11

Hurazzi

hu-ra-az-zi s. [...], 62.34

Hurpi-še(n)ni

hur-bi-še-ni s. ha-na-a-a, 45.12
 hu-ur-bi-še-en-ni s. ha-ši-ya, 18.4, 26, 30

Huršaya

hu-ur-ša-a-a f. [...], 56.21

Kušši-ḫarbe; cf. *Kušši-ḫarbe**Hutaya*

hu-ta-a-a f. qa-i-te-šup, 60.39

Hut-tešup

hu-ut-te-šup f. a-ki-ya, f. šku-ni-šu, 54.2,
 11

Hutiya

hu-ti-ya awšnaggaru, 1.14; awš[.....]-
 ru, 6.42; scribe, 6.69; 10.1
 hu-di-ya s. ha-ši-ya, 30.33; 34.41
 s. na-ar-bi-ilu, 25.32
 hu-ti-ya s. da(?)-ú(1)-[.....], 93.18
 s. te-su-up-er-wA, 24.14
 hu-di-ya s. te-šup-er-wA, 34.51
 hu-ti-ya f. ha-ši-ip-til-la, 84.11

hu-di-ya f. še-eḫ-li//še-ḫé-el-te-šup, 25.39;
 29.25; 35.22
 hu-ti-ya f. id., 45.14

Hutip-apu

hu-ti-ip-a-pu s. pu-ru-sa, 94.19

Hutip-šarri

hu-ti-ip-šarri awšabultannu, s. te-eš-šu-ya,
 60.35

Hutip-ugur

hu-di-pu-gur f. šum-mi-še-en-ni, 29.29

Hut-ir-wA

hu-ti-ir-wA f. ú-na-ap-te-šup, 54.26

Huti-šimika

hu-ti-ši-mi-qa s. ha-ši-ip-til-la, 60.38

Huziri

hu-zi-ri, 9.1

Iyalampa

īya-la-am-ba, 20.3, 8, 10, 23

Yanzi-mašhu

ya-an-zi-ma-aš-hu s. a-it-ta-ra, 24.9; 30.31;
 32.27; 34.33

Ea-tupki

e-a-tup-ki, 71.1, 9, 10, 12, 19

Eḫḫiya

eh-ḫi-ya s. ha-ni-ku-ya, b. ta-ù-ki, 29.21

Eḫel-tešup; cf. *Eḫli-tešup**Eḫli-[.....]*

eh-li-[.....] s. [...], 59.28

Eḫliya

eh-li-ya, 48.38
 f. ak-ku-le-en-ni, 63.12
 f. am-ma-aq-qa, 28.22
 f. ar-ta-še-en-ni, 63.24
 f. ki-il-li, 41.3
 f. šu-um-mi-ya, 96.19

Eḫlip-apu

eh-li-ip-apu, 7.24, 33
 f. wa-an-ti-ya, 73.1

Eḫli-te

eh-li-te, 29.16

Eḫli/Eḫel-tešup

eh-li-te-šup, 25.20; 71.6; dayānu, 71.36

- e-ḫé-el-te-šup s. ki-pa-a-a, 58.1, 13, 16, 20,
25, 28, 31, 33, 37, 41
s. ta-a-a, 95.4, 9
eḫ-li-te-šup s. id., 96.4, 7, 15
f. tar-mi-te-šup, 17.16
- Ekki(y)a*
ek-ki-a, 22.29
e-ek-ki-ya, dayānu, 72.34
f. [...], 56.22
- Egigi*
e-gi-gi, dayānu, s. gi-li-ya, 40.19
e-gi-[gi] f. a-kip-šarri, 59.19
- Ellaya*
el-[la-a-a] f. šu-ri-ḫi-il, 93.3
- Elabriya (š)*
i-la-ab-ri-ya f. wa-an-ti-ya, fza-am-mi-in-ni
39.3
i-la-ab-ri-ya-aš, ibid. 2
- Ellatu*
el-[la-d]u s. šu-mi-qa-ri, 97.15
- Elḫip-šarri*
el-ḫi-ip-šarri f. mu-šu-ya, f. šu-in-tap-šu-ni,
44.16
- Elḫip-tašenni*
el-ḫi-ip-ta-še-en-ni, 98.6-7, 10
s. ur-ḫi-ya s. a-kip-til-
la, 61.3, 10, 14, 21
- E/Elḫip-tila*
el-ḫi-ip-til-la, scribe, 62.35; 100.27
s. ma-at-te-šup, 21.22
il-ḫi-ip-til-la s. id., 32.24
- El-i-mitti*
DINGIR-ZAG s. ta-qa-ti, 44.8
- El-i-ttiya*
i-li-it-ti-ya, tamkaru, 77.3
DINGIR-it-ti-ya, ibid., 17, 20
- Eluya*
DINGIR-ya, scribe, 56.41
- Enna-mati*
en-na-ma-ti, scribe, 71.40
s. ku-uš-ḫar-be, 44.10
s. te-ḫi-ip-til-la, 69.7, 13
e-en-na-ma-ti f. a-ri-ip-šarri, f. ar-ša-an-ta,
f. še-en-na-ag-ga, 16.3, 13
- e-na-ma-ti f. še-na-aq-qa, 18.21
e-en-n[a-m]a-ti f. tar-mi-ya, 40.17
en-na-ma-ti h. fū-uz-na, 56.5; 60.8
- Enna-milki*
en-na-mil-ki f. tup-ki-ya, 20.13
- Enna-pali*
en-[na-pa]-li, awl[...], 59.27
e-en-na-pa-li s. še-en-na-a-a, 67.12
en-na-pa-li f. ḫa-ši-ip-til-la, 64.29
- Inabi*
i-na-a-bi, 20.2
IGI-a-bi f. ut-ḫap-ta-e, 61.41
- E/Iniya*
i-ni-ya, 8.46
e-ni-ya f. ar-te-ya, 18.22
f. qar-di-ya, 27.23
- Inni-ḫaya*
in-ni-qa-a-a, šibu, awl[...]-ma(!)-
su(!), 96.16
- E/Inniku*
in-ni-ku s. šu-mi-qa-ri, b. a-ka-p-še-en-ni,
59.1, 15
en-ni-ku, ibid. 10
- Eniš-tae*
e-ni-iš-ta-e f. [a]-kip-du-r[a], 22.22
f. ḫa-na-a-a, 27.21; 30.25; 33.
28; 34.50
f. gi-lip/li-ip-šarri/šar-ri, 18.
20; 25.29; 36.16; 41.23
f. ša-ad/at-du/tu-mar-di/ti, 25.
27; 32.21
- Enkup-[...]*
en-ku-ub-[...] f. ū-na-ap-ta-e 35.21
- En-šaru*
en-ša-rum f. ta-a-a, 30.34; 34.48
- En-šukru*
en-šuk-rum, awl[...], s. te-šup-er-
wa, 22.24, 33 s. zi-ki-iš-tar, 44.21
- Inzi-tešup* (inzi perhaps a phonetic variant
of *yanzi*?)
in-zi-te-šup s. ar-te-ya, s. fki-sa-a-a, 32.4,
11, 13
- Ippaya*
ip-pa-a-[a], 22.30

Ipša-ḫa-lu

ip-ša-ḫa-lu, 6.49; awaUS.BAR, 10.16; 70.
6, 13

ip-ša-ḫa-lu s. [...], 65.31

šibu, s. [...]-lu, 64.23

s. gi-el-ša-am-pa, 95.14

ip-ša-ḫa-a-lu s. ku-uz-za-ri, 60.41

ip-ša-ḫa-lu f. ak-ku-le-en-ni, 18.23

f. ma-li-ya, 60.36

f. zi-ra-a-a, 94.16

Ipšaya

ip-ša-a-a, 42.45

Iriri-tilla

i-ri-ri-till-la, 14.9

maššar abulli, s. a-ri-pa-pu,
67.39

Ir-muša

ir-mu-ša, 47.4

ir-mu-ša f. [...], 22.19

Iruya

i-ru-ya, dayānu, 72.31

Irruša

ir-ru-uš-sa, 17.5

Erwa-ḫu-ta

er-wa-ḫu-ta, slave of Tulpu-naya, 44.6

Erwa-šarri

[er]-wa-šarri s. [tā]b([DÜG.]GA)-šarri,
19.1, 4

er-w[A-šar]ri f. ftāl-pu-na-a-a, 23.4

Iškur-andul

iškur(dIM)-an-dul, scribe, 91.14

Išma-ada(d)

iš-ma-dIM f. ak-ku-le-en-ni, 57.28

*Etaš-šenni; cf. Eteš-šenni**Ete[.....]*

e-t[e.....] f. pal-te-ya, 93.16

Eteya

e-te-ya f. pu-i-ta-e, 66.9

Eteš-šenni

e-ta/eš-še-en-ni s. at-na-ḫi-ilu, 66.34

Iḫa-[-.....]

iḫa-[-.....] f. ta-a-a, 59.32

Iḫa-piḫi/e

iḫa-b[ḫi], scribe, 19.18

i-iḫa-bi-ḫé f. du-ra-ar-te-šup, 52.34

Iḫa-(a)pu

iḫa-pu, 75.5, 7, 18, 21

f. ak-ku-le-en-ni, 42.42

Iḫip-ari

iḫi-ip-a-ri b. na-ni-ya, 8.21

Iḫiš-ta

iḫi-iš-ta, 8.1

Iḫi-tilla

iḫi-till-la s. šūk-ra-a-pu, 21.27

Iḫi-zarwa

iḫi-za-ar-wA, 47.22

Iddin-nana(y)a

SUM-dna-na-a s. šul-lu-me-ya, 44.11

SUM-dna-na-a-a, ibid. 26

Itti-šarri

it-ti-šarri f. tar-mi-te-šup, 61.43

Izatabi

iz-za-ta-bi f. ri-mu-šarri, 29.38

Kai-tešup

qa-i-te-šup s. ḫu-ta-a-a, 60.39

s. tap(DÜG.GA)-ar-ra-ap-ḫi,
44.12

Kakya (hypocoristicon for *Akewa-tūl*?)

ka-li-ya f. ut-ḫap-še, 37.34

qa-li-ya f. id., 38.2

Kalumu

qa-lu-mu s. ša-[-.....], 69.29

Kana

qa-a-na s. ḫa-bi-ra, b. a-kip-šarri, 62.31

Kani

qa-a-ni s. mu-[-.....], 62.33, 37

qa-ni s. ta-ḫa-ar, 20.19

Kangi(?)

qa-an(?) -gi(?) f. a-kap-dug-gi, 93.24

Kanzuš-šalli

ḫa-an-zu-uš-šal-lim d. ḫa-lu-ya, 55.33, 41

ḫa-an-zu-uš-šal-lī, ibid. 41

Kap-[-.....]

kap(?) -[-.....] f. a-ri-be-ra, 34.37

- Karanié* (personal name or name of a canal?)
 qa-ra-ni-e, 22.9
- Kari*
 ka-a-ri (personal name or name of a dimtu?), 7.13
 qa-ri, manzatuḫlu, s. a-ka[p-še]-en-ni, 43.10
- Kariru*
 ka-ri-ru, 8.30
- Karmiša*
 qar-mi-šá, 81.5
- Kartiya*
 qar-ti-ya, 31.30
 s. a-kap-še-en-ni, 32.29
 qar-di-ya s. e-ni-ya, 27.23
- Kartip-erua*
 qar-ti-be-er-wA, 51.32
 s. a-kap-še-ni, 57.12
- Kartutti*
 ka-ar-tu-ut-ti, 71.2, 6
- Katiri*
 qa-ti-ri s. še-en-na-a-a, 68.1, 10
- Kawinni*
 qa-wi-in-ni, 5.15
- Kielniya*
 ki-el-ni-ya f. te-šup-[ni]-ra-ri, 54.24
- Gielšampa*
 gi-el-ša-am-pa f. ip-šá-ḫa-lu, 95.14
- Kili*
 ki-il-li s. eḫ-li-ya, 41.3, 8
- G/Kiliya*
 ki-li-ya, 33.44
 gi-li-ya, 6.7; 7.11; 10.2; 65.5
 dayānu, s. pa-zí-ya, 40.10
 f. e-gi-gi, 40.19
 ki-li-ya f. ur-ḫi-ya, 27.30; 42.46
- Gilip-šarri*
 gi-lip-šarri, 47.8
 gi-lip-šarri, 36.15; 45.18
 gi-li-ip-šarri s. a-be-ya, 66.38
 gi-li-ip-šar-ri, šibu, s. e-ni-iš-ta-e, 18.19, 27
 gi-li-ip-šarri s. id., 25.29
- gi-lip-šarri s. id., 35.16
 dayānu, s. id., 41.27
 gi-li-ip-šarri f. še-el-wi-ya, 20.14
 f. tup-ki-ya, 44.15
- Gimil-ada(d)*
 g[i,]-me-il-[l]a-ta s. me-li-ya, 34.53
- Kimparu*
 ki-im-pa-ru s. ada(d)-rabā, 67.36
 ki-im-pa-rum, ibid. 44
- Kinnanni*
 ki-in-na-an-ni, 11.1, 6, 9, 10
- Kinni*
 ki-in-ni, maššar abulli, 94.14
 s. pu-i-ta-e, 58.51
- Ki(n)niya*
 ki-in-(ni)-ya s. a-kip-til-la, ga. šar-ri-ya, 62.3
 ki-in-ni-ya, ibid. 14, 16
 ki-ni-ya f. [šák]-ra-a-p[u], 22.21
- Kintar*
 ki-in-tar, 3.6
- Kip-[.....]*
 ki-i[p?.....] s. wa-an-ti-iš-še, 35.1
- Kipaya*
 ki-pa-a-a, shepherd of Giliya, (rē'ū) 6.6
 awēmu-ru, ibid. 16
 ki-ba-a-a s. ar-še-en-[ni], 59.24
 ki-pa-a-a f. e-ḫé-el-te-šup, 58.2
- Kipali*
 ki-ba-li, 87.4, 8, 10
- Kipal-zuki*
 ki-ba-al-zu-ki s. t-še-ri, 59.21
- Kip-apu*
 ki-pa-pu f. pu-ḫi-še-ni, 26.16
- Kip-arrapḫi*
 ki-pa-ar-ra-áp-(ḫi), 31.25
 ki-ba-ar-ra-ap-ḫi s. wa-an-di-iš-še, 18.16
 ki-pa-ar-ra-áp-ḫi s. wa-an-ti-iš-še, 23.25
 ki-pa-ar-ra-ap-ḫi s. id., 26.13, 27
- Kipa-urḫe*
 ki-pa-[ur]-ḫé s. gi-ra-ar-te-šup, 61.44
 ki-ba-ur-ḫé, ibid. 48

Kip-erḫa

ki-be-er-ḫa (seal), 21.41

ki-be-er-[ḫ]ju(?) s. a-qa-a-a, ibid. 30

Kipiya

ki-bi-ya, 5.2, 6, 19, 27; 6.2, 6, 18, 23, 28, 32, (ki-ri(!)-ya 35, 57, 61, 64; 12.6, 11

s. a-be-ya, shepherd of Warad-teya, 3.43

f. ti-eš-wA-nu-uḫ-ni, 70.33

h. šu-ḫu-ur-na-a-a, 74.8, 17

Kipi(š)-šubri

ki-bi-šu-uḫ-ri f. šūk-ri-ya, 30.27; 34.34

ki-bi-iš-šu-uḫ-ri f. id., 57.16

Kipi-tilla

ki-bi-til-la, 31.31

Kip-gim/par

kip-gi-mar, 36.18

s. a-qa-wi-ya, 23.30; 44.19

ki-ip-gi-bar s. a-ga-wi, 25.35

Kip-ugur

ki-pu-gur f. ḫa-ši-ip-til-la, 79.1, 20

f. wa-an-ti-iš-še-en-ni, 61.38

Giraya

gi-ra-a-a s. zi-lip-til-la, 73.25

Girar-tešup

gi-ra-ar-te-šup f. ki-pa-[ur]-ḫé, 61.44

Kirru-kassi

ki-ir-ru-ka-az-zi, 3.12

Qiš-kubi

qī-iš-ku-bi f. wu-un-nu-ki-ya, 28.16; 57.30

Qište

qī-iš-te s., 59.20

Qište[. . . .]

qī-iš-t[e(?)] f. taš-t[a], 57.2

Gicar-ari

gi-wa-ra-ri, 66.5

GiwA-tae

gi-wA-ta-e s. mu-uš-te-ya, 37.38

s. mu-uš-te-šup, 24.12; 34.42; 35.20

/Kis/saya

ki-za-a-a, 31.1, 9, 14

iki-sa-a-a, slave-woman of fTulpu-naya, d.

a-ri-ya, w. ar-te-ya, m. in-zi-te-šup, 32.1, 9, 10, 15

d. ḫa-ši-im-ma-at-qa, 30.3, 4, 8, 13, 14

Kizzi-ḫarpa

ki-iz-zi-ḫar-pa f. a-li-ib-bi-ya, 93.21

Kizsiri

ki-iz-zi-ri, 58.7

Kizsu

ki-iz-zu s. a-ru-ma-ri, 20.20

Kuari

ku-a-ri f. tar-mi-ya, 95.22

Kula-ḫupi

ku-la-ḫu-bi, 65.7; 74.7; 80.4

s. ar-te-e-a, 61.5, 7, 13, 15, 19, 22, 25, 27

s. ḫu-ya, b. šūk-ri-ya, b. tar-mi-ya, 56.3, 29, 23

s. šūk-ri-ya, 65.12, 13, 17, 22

/Kuniašu

ku-ni-a-šu d. ḫu-ut-te-šup, sis. a-ki-ya, 54.1, 25

/Kuritu

ku-ri-du, slave-woman, 75.1

ku-ri-tum, ibid. 14, 16, 20

Kurp/ware

ku-ur-pa-ri, 25.13, 16, 17, 22

ku-ur-wa-ri s. ū-uš-še, 21.31, 42

Kuš-ḫarbe

ku-uš-ḫar-be f. en-na-ma-ti, 44.10

Kušši(y)a

ku-uš-ši-a s. šūk-ri-ya, 61.36

ku-uš-ši-ya f. a-ri-ig-[gi]-ir-ḫé, 64.2

K/Hušši-ḫarbe

ku-uš-ši-ḫar-be, 1.2, 3, 6, 8, 18, 26, 29, 34, 37, 41, 43, 48; 2.5, 9; 5.35; 9.6; 13.6

ḫu-uš-ši-ḫar-be, 3.2, 19, 22, 29, 52; 4.7, 9, 15, 16; 7.20, 26, 43, 46; 8.38, 42; 10.5

Kušuya

ku-šu-ya f. še-qa-ru, 73.24

Kuttianni

ku-ut-ta-an-ni f. ḫa-na-du, 43.11

Kudukka(?)

KU/TÜL-duq-qa f. wa-ra-te, 63.22

Kuzzari

ku-uz-za-ri f. ip-šá-ḫa-lu, 60.41

Kuzzu

ku-uz-zu, šibu s. ar-[.....], 95.18

Mai-[.....]

ma-i-[.....] f. ar-zi-iz-za, 65.29

*Maitta*ma-i-it-ta, šibu, s. warad-ištar, 91.17
ma-it-ta, ibid. 26*Maliya*ma-li-ya, dayānu, 43.23; scribe, 74.22
s. ip-šá-ḫa-lu, 60.36
s. na-i-še-ri, 23.28; 26.15; 27.27;
37.35
f. ar-te-em-tu/du-e, 30.38; 32.25;
34.47
f. ut-ḫap/ḫáp-ta-e, 28.20; 30.38;
57.24*Mannuya*

ma-an-nu-ya, 31.4, 6

*Mannu-maḫir-šu*ma-an-nu-ma-ḫi-ir-šu s. na-i-še-ri, 67.1, 10,
25*Mār-ištar*

DUMU-ĀU, 3.27

[DUMU(?)]-dEŠ, DAR s. na-ni-ya, 55.51

*Mat-tešup*ma-at-te-šup s. ḫa-ni-qa-tum, 29.17; 30.29;
35.15
dayānu, s. id., 41.25
s. ḫi-il-bi-iš-šu-uh, 21.25; 32.
23
s. na-ni-ya, 23.23; 25.30
f. el/il-ḫi-ip-til-la, 21.22; 32.
24*Meliya*

me-li-ya f. g[il]-me-il-[il]a-ta, 34.53

Melen-zaḫ

me-le-en-za-aḫ, 11.21, 28

Minašuk

mi-na-šuk f. tup-ki-ya, 44.14

*Mi-NI-; cf. Šil-//Š/Zil(la)-**Mirkuka(?)*

mi-ir/ni-ku-qa f. wa-an-ti-ya, 93.22

Mu-[.....]

mu-[.....] f. qa-a-ni, 62.33

*M/Nuš-apu*nu-šá-pu, 48.35
mu-šá-pu, 100.3
nu-ša-pu s. bur-na-zi-ni, 66.10, 16, 25, 29
mu-ša-pu s. id., 67.13, 21, 23, 26, 28
f. pu-ḫi-še-en-ni, 62.26
nu-ša-pu f. un-nu-ki, 27.20*Muššeya*

mu-uš-še-ya f. na-ni-ip-til-la, 88.1

*Muš-teya*mu-uš-te-ya, dayānu, 43.20
s. a-ri-il-lu-um-ti, f. ar-bi-ḫá,
37.1, 2, 10, 15, 24
f. gi-wA-ta-e, 37.38*Muš-tešup*muš-te-šup, mār šarri, 45.9, 10
mu-us-te-šup f. gi-wA-ta-e, 24.12; 34.42;
35.20*Mušuga*mu-šu-ya s. el-ḫi-ip-šarri, b. šī-in-tap-ši-ni,
44.16
s. ḫa-ši-in-na-mar, 66.37*Naya*

na-a-a f. a-ri-ik-ki-ya, 44.18

*Nai-gimar*na-i-gi-mar s. a-ri-ma-at-qa, 23.31; 26.24;
29.19; 35.25; 42.41
f. a-ri-qa-ma-ri, 24.19*Nai-šeri*na-i-še-ri s. na-al-du-ya, 17.1, 11
f. ma-li-ya, 23.28; 26.15; 27.27;
37.35
f. ma-an-nu-ma-ḫi-ir-šu, 67.2
f. šu-um-mi-ya, 18.14*Nai-tešup*na-i-te-šup s. [.....], 95.17, 28
s. ar-te-ya, 27.22; 29.28; 32.20*Naltuya*

na-al-du-ya f. na-i-še-ri, 17.2

Nal-tukka

na-al-du-uq-qa s. ḫa-ši-pu-gur, 23.23

- Nāna-XI*[...] -riši(?)
na-an-na-ki-[...] -riši(TAH), dayānu, s.
ta-an-n[.....], 70.30
- Nāna-riši*
na-an-na-riši(TAH), scribe, 63.26
- Nāna-ummi*
ina-na-a-a-um-mi d. ḥa-na-a-a, 53.3
- Naniya*
na-ni-ya, 74.7, 10
šibu, s. warad-ku-bi, 64.27
f. f[.....]-ni-ya, 36.1, 14
f. [mār(?)]-dištar, 55.51
f. ma-at-te-šup, 23.23; 25.30
f. šu-ur-te-šup, 20.12
b. it-ḫi-ip-a-ri, 8.21
- Nanip-apu*
na-ni-pa-pu s. ša-ar-te-šup, 58.53
- Nanip-šarri*
[na-ni-i]p-ša[rri] s. [a]r-taš-še, 55.49, 57
- Nanip-tilla*
na-ni-ip-til-la s. mu-uš-še-a, 88.1, 16
- Nante*[.....]
na-an-te[.....] f. a-[....]-ya, 91.2
- Nanteya*
na-an-te-e-a s. ḥu-um-mu-ru, 67.35
- Naba-ilu/a*
nabū-ilu(dAK-DINGIR.RA), scribe, 4.25;
15.20; 16.17; 17.15; 72.29
(dAK.Ki-la), scribe, 59.30
(dAK-DINGIR.RA), f. a-bi-ilu,
85.37
f. [šuk]-ri-
te-šup, 63.
20
- Nabū-našir*
dAK-na-šir, scribe, 18.24; 24.25
- Naraya*
na-ra-a-a, 22.34
- Narbi-ilu*
na-ar-bi-DINGIR f. ḥu-di-ya, 25.32
- Niher-tilla*; cf. *Nirḫi-tilla*
- Niḫriya*
ni-iḫ-ri-ya, mār šarri, 85.4
f. [a]-kip-še-en-ni, 98.22
- Niḫiya*
ni-ki-ya, 33.40
- Ninu-ari*
ni-nu-a-ri, 2.6; 2.19
s. a-kap-še-en-ni, 28.17
- Nirari*
ni-ra-ri, scribe, 96.27
scribe, s. ta-a-a 94.18
- Nirḫi/Niher-tilla*
ni-ir-ḫi-til-la, 65.40
s. <1>, 73.2, 5, 8, 9, 13, 14,
21, 28, 30
ni-ḫe-er-til-la s. [...] -na-aš-te, 65.35
ni-ir-ḫi-til-la, ibid. 40
ni-ir-ḫi-til-la s. a-kip-t[e-šup], 27.25
s. tu/du-ra-ri, 27.24; 28.24;
30.32; 34.38; 37.40
- Nirpiya*
ni-ir-bi-ya f. šī-mi-qa-ri, 43.12
- Nul-tešup*
nu-ul-te-šup f. ša-tu-ta-e, 70.1
- Nupanani*
nu-pa-na-ni f. ar-ši-mi-qa, 58.52
- Nur*[.....] (cf. *Nirpiya*)
nu-ur[.....] f. šī-mi-qa-ri, 35.17
- Nušaya*
nu-ša-a-a s. a-da-a-a, 20.15
- Nuš-apu*; cf. *Muš-apu*
- Pa-en-ni*
ba-en-ni, 99.9
- Paya*
pa-a-a, 3.56; 3.67; 5.14; 5.37; 8.70; 11.
30; 14.17
dayānu, 43.24
dayānu s. [...], 40.15
ba-a-a, dayānu, s. pu-i-ta-e, 39.28
- Paippu*
pa-ip-pu s. ḥa-ši-ya, 24.15
- Pai-tešup*
pa-i-te-šup, awdšangū, 48.5
ba-i-te-šup s. [...], 65.33
pa-i-te-šup, ibid. 44

Pai-tilla

pa-i-til-la, 80.5, 11, 13
f. bi-ri-az-za-na, 94.2

Pai-zeni

pa-i-zé-ni, šibu, s. ta-e, 95.21

Pa(k)ka

pa-a-ka, 7.59
pa-aq-qa f. un-nu-qa, 32.26
f. zi-li-ya, 27.28
ba-aq-qa f. id., 28.15

Paliya

pa-li-ya, 8.54

Pal-teya

pal-te-ya, 1.13; 4.11, 20; 8.53
s. e-t[e....], 93.16

Pal-tešup

[pa]l-te-šup s. ha-li-ip-pa, 75.35

Papaya

ipa-pa-a-a d. fha-šu-un-na-a-a, sis. a-ri-be-en-ni, sis. fhi-in-zu-ri, sis. ta-su-li, 34.8

Papaya

pa-pa-a-a f. ta-i-še-en-ni, 25.37

Partas/šsua

bar-ta-su-[a], 1.55
bar-ta-aš-su-a, 4.24

Pasiya

pa-zi-ya, dayānu, 40.18
f. gi-li-ya, 40.16

Bēl-ahhēš-šu

bēl-ahhēti-šu (EN-ŠEŠti-šu), 86.9, 18

Beleya(?)

BE-la-a-a s. ta-e, gs. a-qa-wA-til, 38.7, 16

Belabi(?)

BE-la-a-bi, 12.10

P/Beltari

be-el-ta-ri, 57.6

Peški-ili-šu

peš-ki-ili (DINGIR)-šu, 3.56
peš-ki-il-li-šu, 8.2, 23
peš-ki-ili (DINGIR)-šu, ibid. 28, 37, 45,
50, 52, 56, 60, 65, 68; 9.3, 13; 10.4, 7,
10, 13, 16, 20
pè-eš-ki-il-li-šu, 14.2, 10

P/Billara

bi-il-la-r[a] f. a-ḫu-u[m-m]i-š[a], 21.28

Biriaššura

bi-ri-aš-šu-ra, 1.56

Biriazšana

bi-ri-az-za-na s. pa-i-til-la, 94.1

Pizatum

fbi-za-tum, 4.2

Puḫiya

pu-ḫi-ya s. še-el-wi-ya, 24.22

Puḫi-še(n)ni

pu-ḫi-še-en-ni s. ha-ip-šarri, 54.27
s. ha-ma-an-na, 24.10; 30.
36; 32.19; 35.23; 57.19
pu-ḫi-še-ni s. id., 26.22
s. ki-pa-pu, 26.16
pu-ḫi-še-en-ni s. mu-[ša]-pu, 62.26
pu-ḫi-še-ni s. warad-gi-nu, 26.1, 8, 10, 26
f. a-ki-ti-ir-wA, 26.19
pu-ḫi-še-en-ni f. ha-iš-te-šup, 39.26
f. ha-pur-ši, 18.6
f. ha-ši-ya, 64.21
f. ša-ar-[te-ya], 21.20
f. ša-ar-te-šup, 25.36
f. te-ḫi-ip-til-la, 17.17

Pui-tas

pu-i-ta-e, 47.13; 53.9
s. e-te-ya, 66.9, 17, 24, 28, 32
f. ar-te-ya, 39.25
f. ki-in-ni, 58.51
f. ba-a-a, 39.28

Pula-ḫali

pu-la-ḫa-li, 19.4, 10

*Purasa; cf. Purusa**Burna-zini*

bur-na-zi-ni f. mu/nu-ša-pu, 66.10; 67.13

Burniya

bur-ni-ya, 99.20

Burpa-[.....]

bur-pa-[bu-qa-šu(?)] s. [.....], 34.
32

Puru/asa

pu-[r]u-sa, 74.28
pu-ra-sa, 38.37
pu-ru-sa f. ḫu-ti-ip-a-pu, 94.19

Kimu-šarri

- ri-mi-šarri s. iz-za-ta-bi, 29.28
 f. šuk-ri-ya, 63.2
 f. tup-ki-ya, 30.22; 33.29; 34.
 49; 37.30

Ša-[.....]

- ša-[.....], 25.21
 f. qa-lu-mu, 59.29

Šahlu-tešup

- ša-aḥ-lu-te-šup, 1.22, 28, 33, 37

Šaimaššura

- ša-i-ma-aš-šu-ra, 98.3

Šakuya

- ša-ku-ya, 90.13
 šibu, s. ap[il]-amurri, 95.19

Šamaḥul

- ša-ma-ḥul s. tu-ra-ri, 23.27

Šamaš-iddina

- dšamaš-iddina (4UTU-MA.AN.SUM) f.
 amurri-ya, 43.25

Šarriya

- šar-ri-ya, dayānu, 71.17, 31
 f. a-kip-til-la, gf. ki-in-(ni)-ya,
 62.2

Šarīšše

- ša-ri-iš-še s. ar-di(?)·ḫi(?), 58.54
 f. [a]-kip-til-la, 22.23

Šarteya

- ša-ar-te-e-a s. ḫa-na-tum, 65.2, 14, 21, 24
 ša-ar-te-ya s. pu-ḫi-še-en-ni, 21.29, 37

Šar-tešup

- ša-ar-te-šup, šibu, 79.22
 s. pu-ḫi-še-en-ni, 25.36
 f. na-ni-pa-pu, 58.53
 ša-ar-te-šup f. ta-i-te-šup, 94.17

Šarru-sin

- šarru (LUGAL)-dsin s. ta-qa-ra-a-a, 60.37

Šatenšuh

- ša-te-en-šu-uh, 73.15, 18

Šattu-marti

- ša-at-tu-mar-di s. e-[ni-iš-ta-e], 25.27
 ša-ad-du-mar-ti s. e-ni-iš-ta-e, 32.21

Šatu-šenni

- š[a]-du-še-en-ni, šibu, s. tar-mi-ya, 64.19

Šatu-tae

- ša-tu-ta-e s. nu-ul-te-šup, 70.1, 4, 20, 24
 ša-du-ta-e, ibid. 14

Še(?)-[.....]

- še(?)-[.....], 31.18

Šehala

- še-ḫa-la s. ar-šá-an-ta, 44.22

Šehalitū

- še-ḫa-li-tum d. ḫa-lu-ya sis. šuk-ri-te-šup
 s. dur-še-en-ni, w. ag-ga-ta s. zi-li-ik-ku-
 šu s. a-ri-ya, 55.8, 13, 15, 23, 24

Šehal-te

- še-ḫal-te s. a-ki-ya, 62.32

Šehal-tešup

- še-ḫal-te-šup, 48.10, 76.5, 12
 še-ḫa-al-te-šup, 58.8, 10

*Šehel-; cf. Šehli-**Šehliya*

- še-eh-li-ya s. [...], 59.25, 36

Šehli//Šehel-tešup

- še-eh-li-te-šup s. ḫu-di/ti-ya, 25.39; 45.14
 še-ḫé-el-te-šup s. id., 29.25; 35.22

Šehra-mušni

- še-eh-ra-mu-uš-ni, 76.1

Šekaru

- še-qa-ru s. ku-šu-ya, 73.24
 še-qa-rum f. ḫa-šu-ar, 93.17

Šekar-sizza

- še-qa-ar-zi-iz-za-a s. ḫa-na-aq-qa-a, 92.5, 9

Šeltu(π)-naya

- še-el-tu-na-a-a m. ftu-ul-pu-na-a-a, 18.3;
 25.3

- še-el-du-un-na-a-a m. ftál/tu-ul-pu-un-na-
 a-a, 21.2; 22.3; 28.2; 39.1; 40.1

- še-el-tum-na-a-a m. ftál/tu-ul-pu-na-a-a,
 24.3, 6; 30.6

- še-el-tum-un-na-a-a m. ftálw/du-ul-pu-
 (un)-na-a-a, 33.2; 41.1

- še-el-tum-un-na-a-a m. ftál-pu-un-na-a-a,
 34.6, 12

- še-el-du-un-na-a-a m. ftál-pu-un-na-a-a,
 37.6

Šelwa-nari

Še-el-wA-na-ri f. [Še]-en-na-a-a, 55.54

Šelwa

Še-el-wi-ya s. gi-li-ip-šarri, 20.14
f. pu-ḫi-ya, 24.22
f. šu-ra-a-a, 27.19

Še(n)na/i(y)a

Še-en-na-a-a, 20.4; 34.56
Še-na-a-a, 31.23; 36.17
Še-en-na-a-a s. a-kap-še, 21.24; 32.28
s. Še-el-wA-na-ri, 55.54
s. te-eš-šu-ya, 30.24; 32.17;
57.21
Še-na-a-a s. te-eš-su-ya, 33.27
s. te-su-[y]a, 24.10
Še-en-ni-ya s. te-eš-šu-[ya], 25.26
Še-en-na-a-a f. e-en-na-pa-li, 67.12
f. qa-ti-ri, 68.2

Še(n)nakka

Še-en-na-ag-ga s. e-en-na-ma-ti, b. ar-ša-
an-ta, b. a-ri-ip-šarri, 16.1
Še-na-aq-qa s. e-na-ma-ti, 18.21

Šenni

Še-en-ni s. a-[.....], 65.30

Šenniya; cf. *Še(n)na(y)a**Šennunni*

Še-en-nu-un-ni, 38.36

Šeršiya

Šer-ši-ya, scribe, 23.32
Še-ar-ši-ya, scribe, 26.25; 31.21; 45.15

Šešaya

Še-ša-a-a s. wu-ur-te-ya, 28.18

Šešwaya

Še-eš-wa-a-a s. ar-zi-iz-za, 45.3
f. te-eš-šu-ya, 35.14; 41.23

Šiati

Ši-a-ti, dayānu, 71.17, 30

Šiel-[.....]

Ši-el-[.....] f. uš-Še-en-ni, 25.25

Šilaḫi

Ši-la-ḫi, 99.14

Šilwa(y)a

Ši-il-wa-a-a f. a-kap-Še-en-ni, 18.17; 24.20;
27.17; 41.30

Ši-il-wa-a f. a-kap-Še-ni, 23.22; 26.23
f. wa-an-ti-iš-Še, 88.4

Šilwa-tešup

Ši-il-wA-te-šup, 86.8

Šimika

Ši-mi-qa, šibu, s. tál-bi-ya, 96.20
Ši-mi-ga f. du-ra-ri, 63.21

Šimik(a)-ari

Ši-mi-qa-ri, manzatuhlu s. ni-ir-bi-ya, 43.12
s. nu-ur-[.....], 35.17
f. a-kap-Še-en-ni, 59.2
[Ši-m]i-qa-ri f. ḫa-šu-ar, 91.4
Ši-mi-qa-ri f. el-[la-d]u, 97.15
f. in-ni-ku, 59.2
f. zi-li-ya, 40.14

Šimi-tilla

Ši-mi-til-la, 4.4

ŠI-d/tan/mqa

ŠI-ta-an-qa d. ḫa-bíl-damqu, sis. ḫa-na-
tum, 23.1, 5, 10, 14, 17

Šu(hu)r-naya

šū-ḫu-ur-na-a-a w. ki-bi-ya, 74.1
šū-⟨ḫu(?)⟩-ur-na-a-e, ibid. 18

Šuḫniziru(?)

šū-uh-n[i]-zi(?) -ru(?) f. a-i-it-ta-a-ra,
37.36

Šuḫzirra

šū-ḫu-zi-ir-ra f. ḫi-il-bi-šu-uh 42.35

Šukr(a)-apu

šūk-ra-pu, 43.6
s. ar-na-mar, f. ḫal-pa-pu-ša,
h. ḫi-ya-re-el-li, 42.4, 5, 15,
24, 27
šūk-ra-a-pu s. ar-te-ya, 25.40
[šūk]-ra-a-p[u] s. ki-ni-ya, 22.21, 38
šūk-ra-a-pu f. it-ḫi-til-la, 21.27

Šukri

šūk-ri, 22.36

Šukriya

šūk-ri-ya 6.15, 17, 24, 27, awelḫa-bi-it
UDUMES, 50, 51; 36.4, 6;
dayānu 71.37
s. a-ri-ip-ū-ra-aš-š[e], 24.21

- a. hu-ya, b. ku-la-hu-bi, b. tar-mi-ya, 56.2, 28, 32
 s. ki-bi-(iṣ) šu-uḫ-ri, 30.27; 34.34; 57.15
 s. ḡil-dūri, 28.19
 s. ri-[mu-šarri], 63.2, 6, 9, 11, 14, 17
 f. ḡa-ši-ip-til-la, 57.11
 f. ku-la-hu-bi, 65.12
 f. ku-uš-ši-a, 61.36
- Šukri-tešup*
 šuk-ri-te-šup, 3.37; 8.60
 šuk-ri(?)>te-šup, awaUS.BAR, 29.1, 9
 [šuk]-ri-te-šup s. dnabū-ihu, 63.20
 šuk-ri-te-šup s. dur-še-en-ni, b. ḡa-lu-ya m. fše-ḡa-li-tum, 55.2, 4, 7, 8, 12, 24
 s. zi-li-ik-ku-šu, h. tam-ša-re-el-li d. ḡa-lu-ya, ibid. 21
- Šuk-tešup*; cf. above
- Sulpenini*
 šu-ul-be-ni-ni f. ad-ma-til, 67.34
- Sullumeya*
 šul-lu-me-ya f. iddin-dna-na-a, 44.11
- Summi* [...] f. [ḡ]a-ma-an-na, 59.23
- Summiya*
 šu-um-mi-[ya], dayānu, 71.35
 šu-um-mi-ya, šibu, s. eḡ-li-ya, 96.18
 s. na-i-še-ri, 16.14
- Summi(š)-še(n)ni*
 šum-mi-iš-še-ni s. ḡu-[.....], 45.11
 šum-mi-še-en-ni s. ḡu-di-pu-gur, 29.29
- Sumuliya*
 šu-mu-li-ya, awaškapu (AŠGAB), 42.44
- Sumu-libš*
 šumu-libš (MU-GALŠ), scribe, s. ta-a-a, 40.21
- Sumutrama*
 šu-mu-ut-ra-ma, 10.9
- Šuraya*
 šu-ra-a-a s. še-el-wi-ya, 27.19
- Šurakka*
 šu-ra-aq-qa f. ḡu-i-ba-pu, 21.1
- Šuriḡ*
 šu-ri-ḡi-il s. el-[la-a-a], 93.3, 6, 8
- Šurkip-šarri*
 šur-kip-šarri, 33.42
 s. a-ta-a-a, 29.27
- Šurki-tilla*
 šur-ki-til-la, dayānu, s. a-kip-ta-še-ni, 73.37
 s. a-kip-ta-še-en-ni 83.10
 s. a-be-e-a, 67.37
 f. ul-mi-ya, 73.35
- Šur-naya*; cf. *Šu(ḡu)r-naya*
- Šur(u)-paya*
 šur-pa-a-a s. ar-bi-ḡé, 37.37
 šu-ur-pa-a-a s. ḡzil(la)-a-bi-ḡé, 25.33
 šu-ru-pa-a-a, ibid. 49
 šu-ur-pa-a-a s. id., 30.35; 31.21
 šur-[pa-a-a] s. id., 34.45
 šur-pa-a-a f. ar-te-ya, 67.18
- Šur-tešup*
 šu-ur-te-šup s. na-ni-ya, 20.12
- Šu(r)ru(k)ka*
 šu-ur-ru-ka, dayānu, 71.39
 šu-ru-uq-qa s. a-ri-pu-ri-ig-gi, 97.5
- Šuruk-kaya*
 šu-ru-uq-qa-a-a f. a-ri-iḡ-ḡa-a-a, 55.52
- Šuru-paya*; cf. *Šur(u)-paya*
- Ta* [.....]
 ta-[.....], 25.21
- Tae*
 ta-e s. a-qa-wA-til, f. BE-la-a-a, 38.6, 11, 15, 20, 23
 f. ḡa-na-a-a, 61.42
 f. pa-i-zé-ni, 95.21
- Taena*
 ta-e-na s. á-qa-ri, 27.2, 9, 12, 15
- Taḡar*
 ta-ḡa-ar f. qa-ni, 20.19
- Taḡiriri*
 ta-ḡi-ri-ti, dayānu, 40.20
- Tat* [.....]
 ta-i-[.....] f. ar-zi-iz-za, 35.19

Taya

- ta-a-a, 77.19
 s. a-ra-a-a, 10.6
 s. ar-ta-mu-zi, f. ar-ti-ir-wA, 28.3,
 4
 s. ar-te-e-a, 68.2, 8
 s. en-ša-rum, 30.34; 34.48
 s. it-ḫa[.....], 59.32
 da-a-a s. ta-ri-bu, 44.13
 ta-a-a s. warad-dūri, 67.32
 f. ḫa-na-a-a, 66.35
 f. e-ḫé-el//eḫ-li-te-šup, 95.4; 96.4
 f. ni-ra-ri, 94.18
 f. šumu-libšiši, 40.21
 f. ú-ṣap-ta-e, 64.5
 f. zi-li-pa-pu, 63.18

Tayani

- [ta-a]-a-ni, awēmašsar abulli, s. zi-gi, 55.
 53

Taiḫa

- ta-i-qa, mašsar abulli, 64.26; 86.10
 s. a-pu-uš-ki, 73.24

Tai-šenni

- ta-i-še-en-ni, 2.7-8
 s. pa-pa-a-a, 26.37

Tai-tešup

- ta-i-te-šup s. šā-ar-te-šup, 94.17

Tai-tila

- ta-i-til-la f. zi-gi, 94.3, 4

Ta(y)uki

- ta-ū-ki awēnappāḫu, 35.27
 ta-a-a-ū-ki s. ḫa-ni-ku-ya(?)>, 37.29
 ta-a-ū-ki s. ḫa-ni-ku-ya, 23.24
 ta-a-a-ū-ki s. id., 25.41; 30.21; 31.17; 33.
 24
 s. id., b. a-kap-še-en-ni, 24.24;
 32.18
 ta-ū-ki s. id., b. eḫ-ḫi-ya, 29.20
 ta-a-a-ū-ki f. ḫu-i-te-šup, 25.24

Takaraya

- ta-qa-ra-a-a f. šarru-dsin, 60.37

Takati

- ta-qa-ti f. ili-imitti, 44.8

Takuya

- ta-ku-ya, šibu, s. ak-ku-le-en-ni, 64.24

Tanna[...]

- ta-an-n[a...] f. na-an-na-ki[...]riḫi
 (TAH), 70.31

Tanae

- ta-na-e, 48.22, 41

Tanani

- ta-na-ni, 48.12

Tani

- ta-a-ni b. wa-aḫ-ri-še-ni, 69.3, 11

Tantea

- da-an-te-a, dayānu, 43.21

Tap-arraphi

- DÜG.GA-ar-ra-ap-ḫi f. ar-bi-ḫé, 44.9
 f. qa-i-te-šup, 44.12

Tab-šarri

- [DÜG.]GA-LUGAL f. [er-wA-šarri], 19.1
 DÜG.GA-LUGAL f. wa-at-wA, 15.2

Taribu

- ta-ri-bu f. da-a-a, 44.13

Taribuya

- ta-ri-bu-ya, 11.23, 29

Tarmiya

- tar-mi-ya, 14.16; 19.22; awēšangū, 47.29
 s. AN[.....], 59.31
 s. ḫa-ni-ku-ya, 24.14
 s. ḫu-ya, b. ku-la-ḫu-bi, b. šūk-
 ri-ya, 56.1, 7, 18, 31, 34, 37
 dayānu, s. e-en-n[a-m]a-ti, 40.17
 scribe, s. ku-a-ri, 95.22
 dayānu s. ú-ṣap-ta-e, 15.21; 16.
 19
 ḫalzuḫlu, s. id., 17.18
 f. a-qa-wA-til, 72.3
 f. š[a]-du-še-en-ni, 64.19

Tarmi-tešup

- tar-mi-te-šup, ḫalzuḫlu, 19.20
 šibu, s. a-kip-ta-še-ni, 79.24
 s. ar-te-ya, 23.10; 29.15
 ḫalzuḫlu, s. eḫ-li-te-šup, 17.
 16
 scribe, s. it-ti-šarri, 61.43
 f. tar-mi-til-la, 90.10

Tarmi-tilla

tar-mi-til-la, scribe, 66.39; 67.33; 97.17
 a. tar-mi-te-šup, 90.9, 12
 šibu, s. ur-ḫ[i]-ya, 95.20
 šibu, s. wa-an-ti-ya, 64.22

Teš(e(?).....)

ta-š(e(?)).....], 11.31

Tatip-tešup

ta-ti-ip-te-šup, 76.3

Taukkanni

ta-ú-uq-qa-an-ni, 99.17

Tau(?)-[.....]

da(?)-ú(?)-[.....] f. ḫu-ti-ya, 93.18

*Tauki; cf. Tayuki**Tehiya*

[t]e-ḫi-ya, 22.31
 te-ḫi-ya, dayānu, 71.41
 [t]e-ḫi-ya s. a-ta-a-a, 18.15

Tehip-apu

te-ḫi-pa-pu f. ḫé-er-re-e-a, 86.36

Tehip-šarri

te-ḫi-ip-šarri, 4.23
 a. ti-še-ḫi, 29.28

Tehip-tilla

te-ḫi-ip-til-la, 7.48; 19.21; 85.9; 99.7
 ḫalzuḫlu, s. pu-ḫi-še-en-ni,
 17.17
 s. zi-lip-til-la, 94.15
 f. en-na-ma-ti, 69.8

Tehip-ziluk

te-ḫi-ip-zi-lu-uk s. ak-ku-le-ni, 73.36

Tehup-šenni

te-ḫu-up-še-en-ni, 1.45, 53

Tente

te-en-te, 16.6

Tenteya

te-en-te-ya, 20.1
 f. ḫa-na-a-a, 34.2, 4

Te[š(?)...š]i(?)ya

te-i[š(?)...š]i(?)ya, 22.9

Te[š]š/suya

te-eš-šu-ya, dayānu, māṛ šarri, 15.22; 16.
 20
 s. še-eš-wa-[a-a], 35.14
 dayānu, s. še-eš-wa-a-a, 41.23

f. ak-ku-te-ya, 21.26

f. ḫu-ti-ip-šarri, 60.35

f. še-en-na-a-a, 30.24; 32.17;
 57.22

te-su-[y]a f. še-na-a-a, 24.16

te-eš-su-ya f. id., 33.27

te-eš-šu-ya f. še-en-ni-ya, 25.26

Teš/sup-erwa

te-šup-er-wa, 36.19

s. d[ūr(?)]-šarru, 37.32

f. en-šuk-rum, 22.24

te-su-up-er-wa f. ḫu-ti-ya, 24.14

te-šup-er-wa f. ḫu-di-ya, 34.51

Tešup-nirari

te-šup-[ni]-ra-ri, scribe, s. ki-el-ni-ya, 54.
 24

*Tesu-; cf. Tešu-**Tiešwa-nuḫni*

ti-eš-wa-nu-uh-ni, dayānu, s. ki-bi-ya, 70.
 32

Tilammu

ti-la-am-mu, scribe, 25.43

Tilun-naya

ti-lu-un-na-a-a, 4.13, 19

Tirwa-nari

ti-ir-wa-na-ri, 98.5

Tišam-mušni

ti-šā-am-mu-uš-ni, 90.5

Tiše-ḫi

ti-še-ḫi f. te-ḫi-ip-šarri, 29.28

Tulpiya

tāl-bi-ya f. ši-mi-qa, 96.20

Tulpi-šenni

tu-ul-bi-še-en-ni s. i-na-a-bi, 20.17

Tulpu(n)-na(y)a

tu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a, 17.0, 13; 20.11

tdu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a, 19.4, 8, 12, 16; 38.1,
 5, 18

tdu-ul-pu-na-a, 26.4, 5, 10

tāl-pu-un-na-a-a, 27.4, 5, 8, 11, 14, 16;
 29.3, 11, 13; 32.3, 6, 7, 12, 13, 16; 35.6,
 11; 38.22, 28; 44.7

- ftál-pu-na-a-a, 31.3; 36.5, 7; 38.33; 42.2, 7; 45.4, 8
 ftál-p[u-un-na]-a-a, 43.1
 ftál-pu-na-a-a d. er-w[a-šar]ri, 23.4, 5, 6, 9, 15, 16, 18
 ftu-ul-pu-na-a-a d. še-el-tu/tum-na-a-a, 18, 2, 7, 11; 24.2, 4, 7; 25.3, 7, 9, 11, 15, 18, 23
 ftál-pu-un-na-a-a d. (f)še-el-du/tum-un-na-a-a, 21.2, 7, 8, 12, 15, 17; 22.2, 15; 28.1, 6, 8; 33.13, 14; 34.12, 16, 18, 25, 27, 29; 37.5, 17, 23, 28; 39.1, 6, 9; 41.7, 11, 15, 17, 20
 ftál-pu-na-a-a d. (f)še-el-tum-(un)-na-a-a, 30.6, 7, 13, 18, 20; 33.37; 34.22
 fdu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a d. še-el-du/tum-un-na-a-a, 33.1, 7, 16; 39.17, 18
 fdu-ul-pu-na-a-a d. še-el-tum-un-na-a-a, 23.22
 ftu-ul-pu-un-na-a-a d. š[e-el-du-un-na-a-a], 40.1, 5, 9, 10, 12
 ftálul-pu-un-na-a-a d. še-el-tum-un-na-a-a, 41.1
 ftum-ul-pu-un-na-a-a w. ha-šu-ar, 15.4, 10, 11, 16; 16.7, 15
- /Tuliu*
 fdu-ul-du-ú, slave-woman, 75.2
 fdu-ul-du, ibid. 9, 12
- Tul-tukka*
 du-ul-du-uq-qa, 8.65, 67
 TÖL/KU-duq-qa f. wa-ra-te, 63.22
- Tuppiya*
 tub-bi-ya, 3.54; 7.54
- Tuppi-tešup*
 tu[b-b]i-te-šup, dayānu, 71.34
- Tupkiya*
 tup-ki-ya, 23.37 (hypocoristicon for tup-ki-iz-za; cf. line 20)
 s. en-na-mil-ki, 20.13
 s. gi-li-ip-šarri, 44.15
 s. mi-na-šuk, 44.14
 s. ri-mu-šarri, 30.22; 33.29; 34.49; 37.30
 f. a-ḫu-ya, 20.18
 f. ar-til-la
- f. ut-ḫap/ḫáp-ta-e, 30.23; 33.26; 34.39
- Tupkiizza*
 tup-ki-iz-za s. ar-zi-iz-za, 23.20 (the hypocoristicon is tup-ki-ya; cf. seal, line 37)
- Turari*
 du-ra-ri, 1.1, 4, 50; 10.13
 tu-ra-ri, scribe, 20.22
 tu-r[a-r]i, dayānu s. [...], 70.28
 tu-ra-ri s. a-kip-šarri, 26.14
 du-ra-ri s. ḫa-lu-ut-ta, 63.23
 s. šī-mi-ga, 63.21
 tu-ra-ri f. a-ki-ya, 61.37
 du-ra-ri f. ni-ir-ḫi-til-la, 27.24; 28.24; 30.32; 37.41
 tu-ra-r[i] s. id., 34.38
 tu-ra-ri f. ša-ma-ḫul, 23.27
- Turar-tešup*
 [du-ra-ar]-te-šup, scribe, 55.55
 tu-ra-ar-te-šup, 60.44
 du-ra-ar-te-šup, scribe, s. i-it-ḫa-bi-ḫé, 52.33
- Tur-marti*
 du-ur-mar-ti, 37.3, 13
 dur-mar-ti, ibid. 18, 21
- Tur-bunna*
 dur-bu-un-na s. ur-ḫi-ya, 88.6, 8, 19
- Dur-šarru(?)*
 B[AD(?)]-LUGAL f. te-šup-er-wA, 37.32
- Tur-šenni*
 dur-še-en-ni f. ḫa-lu-ya, f. šuk-ri-te-šup, 55.2
- Ukari*
 ú-qa-ri f. ta-e-na, 27.2, 3, 6, 8, 13
- Ulmia*
 ul-mi-ya, dayānu s. šur-ki-til-la, 73.35
- Ulmī-tilla*
 ul-mi-til-la s. a-ki-ya, 61.39
- Ulluya*
 ul-lu-ya, šuanathu, 7.9
- Unaya*
 ú-na-a-a, 10.1
 s. [...]-um(?) -ḫi, 58.50
 s. ḫa-am-bi-zi, 72.1, 5, 17, 21, 28
 f. a-ri-pu-gur, 60.40

Unap-tae

- ú-nap-ta-e, 46.53; dayānu, 72.35
 ú-na-ap-ya-e s. en-ku-ub-[.....], 35.
 21
 ú-nap-ta-e s. ta-a-a, 64.5, 7, 9, 11
 ú-na-ap-ta-e s. wa-an-ti-ya, 23.29; 29.22;
 30.37
 ú-na-áp-ta-e s. [wa-an-ti-ya], 31.16
 ú-nap-ta-e s. wa-[an-ti-ya], 34.35
 f. tar-mi-ya, 15.21; 16.19; 17.
 18

Unap-tarni

- ú-na-ap-ta-ar-ni, slave of Hušši-ḫarbe, 8.41

Unap-te-šup

- ú-na-ap-te-šup s. ḫu-ti-ir-wa, 54.26
 ú-na-ap-te(?)-šup(?) f. a-ri-lu, 54.29

Unnuka

- un-nu-qa s. pa-aq-qa, 32.26

Unnuki

- un-nu-ki s. nu-ša-pu, 27.20

Urḫiya

- ur-ḫi-ya, scribe, 29.30; 30.40; 34.52; 35.
 28; 41.31
 awšangū, 46.8, 12
 dayānu, 72.33
 s. a-ki-p-ti-l-la, f. el-ḫi-ip-ta-še-
 en-ni, 61.2, 9, 12, 25, 35
 scribe, s. ar-te-ya, 42.51
 scribe s. ki-li-ya, 27.30, 40; 42.
 46
 s. ḡ/zil(la)-a-bi-ḫi, 42.34
 ur-ḫi-ya f. tar-mi-til-la, 95.20
 ur-ḫi-ya f. dur-bu-un-na, 88.6

Urḫi-kušub

- ur-ḫi-ku-šu-ub, mār šarri, 62.5, 8, 12, 20,
 28

Urḫi-šarri

- ur-ḫi-šarri s. zi-qa-a-a, 67.33

Urḫi-te

- ur-ḫi-te, 73.34

Urḫi-te-šup

- ur-ḫi-te-šup, scribe, 68.13
 f. wu-ur-te-šup, 70.2

Ušše

- ú-uš-še s. ḫa-ši-ig-gi-mar, 42.40
 f. ku-ur-[wa]-ri, 21.31

Uš-šenni

- uš-še-en-ni s. šī-el-[.....], 25.25

Ušeri

- ú-še-ri f. ki-ba-al-zu-ki, 59.22

Uṭaya

- ú-ta-a-a, 5.14

Uṭangal

- ú-ta-an-gal, scribe, 57.25

Uṭa-andul

- duṭa(dUTU)-an-dul, scribe, 33.39; 37.42

*Uṭeya; cf. Uṭ(t)i/e(y)a**Uṭḫaya*

- ut-ḫa-a-a, 8.49

Uṭḫap-še

- ut-ḫáp-še s. a-qa-wá-til, 24.18; 29.32
 s. ka/qa-li-ya; 37.34; 38.2, 12,
 14, 20, 25, ut-ḫap-še, 30, 35

Uṭḫap-šeni

- ut-ḫáp-še-ni, ušandū, 26.21; 42.37

Uṭḫap-tae

- ut-ḫap-ta-e, 31.29
 ut-ḫáp-ta-e, dayānu, 72.32
 ut-ḫap-ta-e s. ar-tu-ra, 58.2
 ut-ḫáp-ta-e, ibid. 11, 12, 17, 21, 22, 32, 36,
 42
 s. in(IGI)-a-bi, 61.40
 s. ma-li-ya, 28.20; 57.23
 ut-ḫap-ta-e s. ma-li-ya, b. ar-te-em-tu-e,
 30.39
 s. tup-ki-ya, 30.23; 34.39
 ut-ḫáp-ta-e s. id., 33.26

Uṭ(t)i/e(y)a

- ú-ti-ya, 25.24
 ú-ut-ti-[y]a s. ḫa-ni-ku-ya, 20.21
 ú-te-ya s. id., 25.28

Uṭna

- fá-uz-na w. en-na-ma-ti, 52.2, 5, 13, 14, 22,
 28, 27, 31; 60.5, fuṣ-na 6, 7, 12, 18, 19,
 24, 26, 28; 87.3, 6

Waḫri-šeni

- wa-aḫ-ri-še-ni b. ta-a-ni, 69.3, 6, 11

Wan-[.....]

wa-an-[.....], 19.7

Wannaya

wa-an-na-a-a s. ḥa-ni-[.....], 27.29

/Wanimbi

fwa-ni-im-bi, slave-woman, 36.2

Wantiya

wa-an-ti-ya, tamkaru, 29.23; 100.14

s. ar-šarri, 20.16

s. eḥ-li-pa-pu, 73.1, 4, 10, 22, 29, 32

s. i-la-ab-ri-ya, b. fza-am-mi-in-ni, 39.3, 14

s. mi-ir/ni-ku-qa, 93.22

f. tar-mi-til-la, 64.22

f. ū-na-ap/áp//nap-ta-e, 23.29; 29.22; 30.37; 31.16; 34.35

Wantišše

wa-an-ti-iš-še, 15.8

s. a-ri-ip-ū-ra-aš-še, 32.22

s. šī-il-wa-a-a, 88.4, 18

f. ki-i[p(?)]..., 35.1

wa-an-di-iš-še f. ki-ba-ar-ra-ap-ḥi, 18.16

wa-an-ti-iš-še f. ki-pa-ar-ra-áp/ap-ḥi, 23.25; 26.13

Wantiš-še(n)ni

wa-an-ti-iš-še-en-ni s. ki-pu-gur, 61.38

wa-an-ti-iš-še-ni, ibid. 53

Warate

wa-ra-te s. KU/TÚL-duq-qa, 63.22

Waratteya

wa-ra-at-t[e]-ya, 3.36

Warad-ištar

ERUM-dU f. ma-i-it-ta, 96.17

Warad-ginu

ERUM-gi-nu f. pu-ḥi-še-ni, 26.2, 26

Warad-kubi

ERUM-ku-bi f. na-ni-ya, 64.28

Warad-dūri

ERUM-BAD f. ta-a-a, 67.32

Watwa

wa-at-wa s. ṭāb-šarri, 15.1, 17

Wirriš-ta(n)ni

wi-ir-ri-iš-ta-an-ni, 86.16

wi-ir-ri-iš-ta-ni, ibid. 17

Wunnu-kiya

wu-un-nu-ku-ya s. qí-iš-ku-bi, 28.16; 57.29

Wur-teya

wu-ur-te-ya s. ḥa-ni-ku-ya, 27.18; 29.18; 30.28

s. ḥa-ni-ku-⟨ya(?)⟩, 34.43

s. ḥa-nu-qa-a-a, 33.25

f. še-ša-a-a, 28.18

Wur-tešup

wu-ur-te-šup, 79.5, 11, 15, 17

s. ur-ḥi-te-šup, 70.2, 4, 11, 12, 16

/Zammi(n)ni

fza-am-mi-in-ni d. i-la-ab-ri-ya, sis. wa-an-ti-ya, w. ar-ru-um-ba, 39.2, 4, 5, 11, 16, 20, 21

fza-am-mi-ni, ibid. 13

Zi(?)-[.....]

zi(?)-[.....], 31.20

Zikaya

zi-qa-a-a f. ur-ḥi-šarri, 67.33

Zikanta

zi-qa-an-ta, 6.59, 66

Zigi

zi-gi, 8.51; 47.17

s. ta-i-til-la, 94.3, 11

f. [ta-a]-a-ni, 55.53

Ziki-[.....]

zi-ki-[.....], 68.14

Ziki-ištar

zi-ki-iš-tar f. en-šuk-rum, 44.21

S/Zil(la)apiše/i

MI.NI-a-bi-ḥé f. šu-ur-pa-a-a, 25.33; 30.35; 31.21; 34.45

MI.NI-a-bi-ḥi f. ur-ḥi-ya, 42.34

Ziliya

zi-lī-ya, 31.32

s. pa/ba-aq-qa, 27.28; 28.15

s. šī-mi-qa-ri, 40.14

f. [.....]-at, 55.50

- f. a-ri-im-ma-at-qa, 22.25; 28.26
 f. zi-[me], 97.14
 h. ḫi-in-zu-ri, 8.27
- Zilik/p-kušu* (ḫ)
 zi-li-ik-ku-šu s. a-ri-ya, f. ag-ga-ta, f. šuk-ri-te-šup, h. ḫa-lu-ya, 55.1, 5, 9, 10, 18, 21, 28, 29, 32, 39, 42; 60.2
 zi-lip-ku-šu-uh s. id., 60.10, 15, 20, 23, 25, 30, 31
 zi-(li)-ik-ku-šu-uh, ibid. 29
- Zilip-apu*
 zi-li-pa-pu s. ta-a-a, 63.18
- Zilip-kušub*; cf. *Zilik/p-kušu* (ḫ)
- Zilip-tilla*
 zi-li-ip-til-la, 1.8, 49
 zi-[li-ip-til-la(?)], 3.1, f. ḫa-ni-ú(?): cf. 3.15
 zi-li-ip-til-la, 3.10, 11; 4.1; 7.39, 55
 zi-lip-til-la s. [...], 65.32
 [z]i-li-ip-til-la f. ḫa-ni-ú, 3.15
 zi-lip-til-la f. gi-ra-a-a, 73.25
 zi-lip-til-la f. te-ḫi-ip-til-la, 94.15
- Zil-tešup*
 zi-il-te-šup, dayānu, zu-ya, 15.23
 dayānu, s. [id.], 16.18
- Šil-duri*
 MI.NI-BAD s. dada(d)-mu-šal-li, 30.26; 34.44
 f. šuk-ri-ya, 28.19
- Zime*
 zi-me s. zi-li-ya, 97.14, 18
- Zin...*
 zi-in-..., 75.34
- Sin-nādin-šumi*
 dsin-na-din-šu[mi] (M[U]), scribe, 12.21
- Zini*
 zi-ni, dayānu, 71.17, 29
- Sin-iqīša*
 dsin-i-qī-ša, scribe, 21.32, 43; 22.26; 28.25; 44.20
 dayānu, 71.37
- Sin-iādin*
 dsin-i-di-in, scribe, 32.44
- Sin-iādina*
 dsin-di(?) -na(?), scribe, s. al-te-šup, 93.22
- Ziraya*
 zi-ra-a-a s. ip-šá-ḫa-lu, 94.16
- Zuya*
 zu-ya, 75.32
 f. zi-il-te-šup, 15.23
 [zu-ya] f. id., 16.18
- Šululi-ištar*
 iḡu-lu-li-iš-tar, slave-woman, 56.4, 15, 36
 [...] -at s. zi-li-ya, 55.50
 [...] -il-ru f. [...], 22.20
 [...] -lu f. ip-šá-ḫa-lu, 64.23
 [...] -na-aš-te f. ni-ḫé-er-til-la, 65.35
 i[.....] -ni-ya d. na-ni-ya, 36.1
 [...] -te-šup, šbu, 79.23
 [...] -tilla, 55.56
 [...] -um(?) -ḫi f. ú-na-a-a, 58.50

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